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*Hen: Do: Cary Baro de Leppington Comes
Monmouthensis, et Hon: ^{mi} Ord: Balnæ Eques.*

HISTORICALL
RELATIONS
OF THE
United Provinces
& OF
FLANDERS,

Written Originally in *Italian*

By Cardinall BENTIVOGLIO:

And now Rendred into

ENGLISH

By the Right Honourable

HENRY
Earle of MONMOUTH.

L O N D O N,

Printed for HUMPHREY MOSELEY and are to
be sold at his shop at the sign of the Princes Arms
in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1652.

THIS ORIGINALLY

OF THE

United Provinces

OF

which is originally in Latin

By Cardinal BERTHOU

and now revised

by the Right Honourable

THE
NEW

LONDON

and sold

Printed for

be sold at his shop in the City of the


Church-yard

in



A
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of all the Chapters of the Relations of
Cardinall BENTIVOGLIO.

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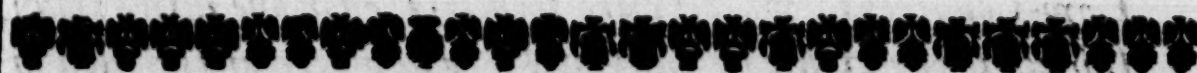
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A
RELATION
OF THE
United Provinces
OF
FLANDERS,

Written by the Cardinall *Bentivoglio*.

BOOK I.

CAP. I.

The Number of the United Provinces, and their situation.



He United Provinces of *Flanders* are in number seven; to wit, the Dukedom of *Ghelderland*, the Counties of *Holland*, and of *Zealand*; and the Lordships of *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Overisel*, and *Groninghen*. These Provinces are environ'd for the most part by the Ocean Sea. *Zealand* is distinguished into several Islands; *Holland* is a *Peninsula*; and the others are cut through by many rivers: the greatest and most navigable wherof are the *Reyne* and the *Mause*: The *Reyne*, which at its entrance into the Province of *Gelderland* with one of its greatest Branches is called the *Wael*, before it goes out from thence, joynes with the *Mause*. These two rivers are hardly well wedded together here, when presently parting one from another, they form an Island of a large Circuit, they joyn together again; then confounding their names together with their Channels, they inlarge and extend themselves into large Gulfes; and watering *Holland* and *Zealand* by many spacious inlets, they at last disgorge and lose themselves in the Ocean. *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Friesland*, and *Groninghen* are plaid upon by the Sea towards the North; then turning towards the East, the same Provinces of *Groninghen*, and *Ghelderland*, border upon *Germany*. Towards the South and West the same Province of *Ghelderland* confines upon the State of *Cleves*, and the Countrey of *Leige*; and *Holland* and *Zealand* joyn on the same side with the Countyes of *Flanders* and Dukedom of *Brabant*; under the Province of *Ghelderland* is comprehended the County of *Zutphen*, which is one of the 17 Provinces, whereof the

Body of the Low Countrys was formerly framed, when the said Countrys were joyn'd together in one : yet do not the United Provinces enjoy whole *Ghelderland*, a certain proportion whereof is in the Archdukes possession ; but to countervail this, they likewise extend their dominions into the Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders*. That part of the Countrey which the United Provinces enjoy in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, is held by them under the name of the General Union of the whole seven Provinces.

CHAP. II.

The Quality or Condition of the united Provinces.

THE United Provinces abound almost with all things, through the accommodation of the Sea and Rivers. That which of themselves they chiefly abound in, is, Fish, Pasture, and Cattell ; neither is it almost to be exprest what quantity of Butter and Cheese they send abroad to other parts, and reserve for their own proper use : Their situation is exceeding low, subject to Windes, Moisture, and Rain ; and their Inhabitants may be said to live inclosed by water : *Holland* and *Zealand* are the lowest, and most infested by the Sea, the force and violence whereof is withstood and held in, by large high Rampires of Earth, built up with great Stones, Raftures of Wood, and other tenacious and condence Materials, where occasion requires : in *Holland* more particularly, they indeavour to keep the Country dry by great store of Wind-mills, and other Artificial Engins ; yet the greatest part thereof lies under the water in the Winter Season ; so as you would think that the land were then swallowed up by the Sea : the said Provinces are very well peopled, especially, *Holland* wherein Trafick is the most frequent, and the Concourse of Forraigners greatest. They have in them great store of great Cities, and handsom Towns, the chiefeft whereof are *Nininghem* in *Ghelderland* ; in *Holland*, *Amsterdam* ; in *Zealand*, *Midleburgh* ; in the Province of *Utrecht*, the City *Utrecht* ; in *Friesland*, *Lewrden* ; *Deventer*, in *Overisel* ; and in *Groninghen*, a City called by the said name.

CHAP. III.

The Natural Qualities or Conditions of the People of the united Provinces.

THE Men of these Countries are for the most part of a large Stature, of a handsome and fair aspect, and strong and able of body ; their mindes are no less vigorous then are their bodies, which is seen by the so long and pertenacious resistance, which hath been by them made to the Spanish Forces ; They are of an open and pleasant Nature ; very industrious, and much given to Traffick ; very apt for all Arts, especially such as are Manual, and Mechanical, they love liberty above measure, and therefore are most tenacious of their Priviledges ; and hence it is that they are apt to be jealous and easie to alteration ; and their double flexibility made use of as a means by him who excited the troubles in these our times in *Flanders*, made them without much difficulty afterwards rebel, both against the Catholick Church, and against their natural Prince. The first flame of this

Com-

Combustion broke forth in *Zealand*, & therefore this is the most obstinate of all the other Provinces, in her hatred to the Church and *Spain*. Hence was kindled that great fire of War which for the space of almost one whole half age, could never be extinguished, till at last it was rather smother'd up then quench'd with the Truce which was concluded for twelve years; at the first some of the aforesaid Provinces united themselves with but small Forces, and the first band of Unity was only between *Holland* and *Zealand*, which flanked by Rivers and by the Sea, and having an unalterable obstinacy, added to the natural strength of their situation, might easily even with a very few handfuls of earth, make good their party against a vast Monarchy; afterwards, as the War continued, other Provinces suffering themselves also to be corrupted by the licentiousness of heresie and out of a desire to reduce themselves to a Free Government, the Union already begun gather'd strength, till at last the seaven above said Provinces did formally confederate themselves; and openly denying all obedience to their Prince, they declared themselves by their own proper authority to be free, absolute, and soveraign; they took up Arms at first under pretence of the violation of their Priviledges; and have since fought for the conservation of their usurped Liberty; till with the managing of Articles, it was agreed upon by the Truce, that they may repute themselves for Free Provinces, and the Catholick King and the Archdukes may hold them notwithstanding as subject-ed Provinces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Government of the United Provinces; and first how each of them is Governed in particular.

BEfore the United Provinces made any insurrection, or reduced themselves to the condition of Free Commonwealths, their Government was the same with that, which as yet is observed in those other Provinces which are under the Archdukes. Each of their Governments was composed of Three several Forms joyned in one: to wit, Monarchy, Aristocrasie, and Democrasie: but so tempered as the most sublime part consisted in the person of the Prince: and the Optimati, and popularity did also retain their part in a moderate proportion. Their States (by which name of States is understood the Body of each Province which they represent) were framed most commonly of three Orders of Personages: Ecclesiasticks, the better sort of Nobility, and Citizens together with the Inhabitants of the best Towns. The Ecclesiasticks were for the most part Abbots of several Monastical Orders, and their Monasteries were usually in the Countrey; and unless it were in their intervening upon occasions in the resolutions of the States when general meetings were had, they had little to do in the administration of Publick Affairs, the Nobles did also usually dwel in their Castles, and Country Territories, and the principal Offices of every Province were exercised by them. And the Cities divided generally into 3 sorts of persons, to wit, into some few Gentlemen of a middle condition, into the better sort of Citizens, and into the meaner People, were governed

ned according to their Priviledges and ancient Customes, like unto so many little and particular Republicks; and their government was so framed, as the chiefe Magistracy of every place being in the hand of personages of most respect, yet the other two inferior degrees of persons, did participate proportionably in the supream Magistracy.

The assembling of the Generall States of all the Provinces, as also those of every particular Province, the nominating of their Governors; the renewing the chiefe Magistrate of every Citie every year; the providing for Offices which were enjoyed by the Nobility of the Countrey; the conferring of other Offices of Judicature upon men of the long Robe which are distributed in every Province, together with many other prerogatives depended upon the supream authority of the Prince; which, as I have said, made the Prince to have the most supream and eminent place in Government. The Prince and people did then hold together joyntly after this manner; The Prince contenting himself with a power not altogether absolute, and the People with a limited Liberty; their government being just such as is between the Head and the Members in a mans body. The same Prince had three chief Councils, which serv'd for eyes to all the Provinces by him governed; to wit, a Councell of State, a Councell of Revenue, and a Privy Councell. In the first, the most important publick affairs were handled; in the second, the Prince his patrimony, and the monies contributed by the Provinces; and in the third, matters of justice depending upon the supream Authority of the said Prince. And thus the Prince and People seemed to vye in the cementing and uniting themselves as it were with the bonds of Free-will, whereby to cause the most pleasant and proportioned harmony which could be desired in the aforesaid government. Thus were the United Provinces governed before the insurrection: Now I will shew how they are governed at the present.

Monarchy being extinguished in them all, the States in each Province do succeed in that supream Authority which formerly did reside in the Prince. And the States which in most of the Provinces did before consist of three degrees of personages, doe now consist in all of them, only of the Nobility and Cities; Heresie having totally extinguished the Order of Ecclesiasticks, save onely in the Province of *Utrecht*, which did for a long time belong to Ecclesiasticall Princes, so as there is some shadow of this Order yet observed in their meetings of the States, wherein some Chapters of Canons doe concur part Hereticks, part Catholicks, who are notwithstanding tolerated in that Citie. Thus of a Government which was chiefly Monarchicall, the United Provinces are become a Government partly Aristocraticall, partly Democraticall, according as some one of these Governments hath the greatest influence in them. Yet in almost every one of these Provinces, the two forms are tempered together, and some beams of Monarchy may be said to appear, by reason of the particular priviledges which are granted by the Provinces to their Governors, on whom many things now depend (as shal be shown in due place) which did first relate unto the supream authority of the Prince.

Let us now consider the Government of every particular Province apart, that we may consider afterwards how the union of them altogether is govern'd. And because *Holland* doth much surpasse all the
other

other Provinces in the number of Cities, in the multitude of Inhabitants, in Opulency, and in Traffick, let us see in particular how this Province is governed; for then some short Observations will serve to be made of the rest. The Prince of *Orange* was Governor of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, when the insurrection in *Flanders* first arose, which was at first begun, and afterwards obstinately maintained by the first two of those Provinces; and because the same Prince of *Orange* was the first contriver thereof, that he might the more easily compass his ambitious ends, he propounded two things in particular: The one, to beat down the Nobility as much as might be, which might prove great obstacles to his design: And the other, to work it so, as not any one in *Holland* should be uninvolved in the same Insurrection: he therefore under various pretences made the people jealous of the Nobility: And on the other side did so handle the matter, that whereas formerly there was onely six Cities in *Holland*, which went together with the Nobles, in forming the States of the Province, they were increased to much a greater number. The specious pretence whereof was, that for the more easie maintaining of Arms in the common Cause which was now in hand, it was necessary that all the chief Towns in *Holland* should particularly communicate in the Government; but the true and more hidden end was, to the end that every part of the Province might by its own proper ingagement make the Insurrection the more universall. So then, these six Cities (for by this name I will term indifferently those Cities and principall Towns which concur to make up the States of every Province) were increased to the number of eighteen. The first were these, *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Delfe*, *Leyden*, *Amsterdam*, and *Der-Goude*: and the twelve others which were afterwards added were, *Roterdam*, *Gorchom*, *Schedam*, *Schonhoven*, the *Brill*, *Alcmar*, *Horn*, *Encusen*, *Edam*, *Manacdam*, *Medemblick* and *Purmerent*. So as of these eighteen Cities, and of the order of the Nobility, the States of *Holland* are at this hour composed: Neither doth the whole order of Nobility share a greater part therein, then doth every single and particular Citie.

I will now tell you how every particular Citie is governed: First, the chiefe managing of affairs consists in a Councel composed of a certain prefixt number of persons; they have afterwards a chief Magistrate, and others of lesser condition. The persons of the Councel are feldome changed, but the Magistrates are altered every year. All the Magistrates are chosen out of the number of this Councell. The greatest is usually compos'd of one or two Burgamasters, some Sheriffs, one Scout master, one Treasurer, & one or two Pensioners. Thus are the persons call'd which intervene in the chiefe Magistracies. The Burgamasters part is to look unto such things as chiefly concern the government of the Cities, and their Territories. The Sheriffs together with the Scoutmaster deal in the administration of Justice, both Civill and Criminall. The Treasurer manageth the publick monies; and the Pensioners are Doctors of the Law, and are vers'd in Citie businesse, and serve for Councell to the chiefe Magistrate. The other lesser Magistrates depend upon the greater, and have cognisance of divers things belonging to the government of every Citie. This is briefly the form wherewith the Cities in *Holland* are generally governed.

The Councell of Justice is the same that it was in the former government.

vernment : To this Council the civil causes of every City have their address by way of appeal, and it comprehendeth also the Province of *Zealand* ; in criminal causes no appeal is allowed, the absolute authority of determinating, residing in the chief Magistracies of every City, and because formerly a new appeal was allowed from the Provincial Council of *Holland*, as also from almost all the other Provinces of *Flanders* to a supreme Council, constituted in the City of *Malines* ; instead thereof the said two Provinces have erected a supreme Tribunal in *Holland*, which they call the High Council ; to which appeals are made from the Provincial Councils both of *Holland* and *Zealand* : Here are final judgments given, no place being left for any farther appeal, save that sometimes a review of the cause is allowed, wherein some Judges are added. And thus much may serve for the course of Justice.

In such resolutions which are to be put on concerning the most important publick affairs which appertain to the common interest of all *Holland*, the Assembly of the States of the Province must be call'd ; which States, as hath been formerly said, are made up of the Nobility, and Cities, and Represent the whole body of the Province : The Nobles are but few, and their power as small : The Cities which intervene in the Assembly are those already named, and for Deputies in their name, there are usually sent thither one of the Burgamasters, together with one Pensioner ; the Nobles making likewise their deputation according to their wont. The States meet usually three or four times the year, more or less according as occasion requires ; when they are met they treat and resolve upon such things as are taken into debate ; and then of so many Cities one onely as it were is framed, and they are no longer then divided members, but one united body, bound and fastned together by the tye of publick good and the rule of reason ; and it is seldom seen but that what is agreed upon by the major part is yeilded unto by the lesser ; else force would not avail them, since they are all equal in Liberty. The degree of the Nobility have the first rank, and then the Deputies of Cities take their places, according to their severall degrees. The Assembly being ended, the Sovereign Decrees thereof are executed by a permanent and constant Council, newly instituted in this alteration of Government, which represents the body of the said Assembly. This Council is composed of Deputies, which are likewise voted thither by both the orders of the Nobility and Cities ; and these Deputies are changed from time to time. The publick moneys which are contributed by the Provinces are therein handled, and the care thereof is to propound reasons to the Nobles and Cities for the convocation of the Assembly, as also the calling and reducing of it together.

After this *Holland* hath a Governor of the intire Province, who enjoys very great prerogatives both of honour and Authority ; the managing of the Militia depends on him, and whatsoever appertains to the safety of the Province ; without his approbation the States of the Province resolve upon nothing of importance ; and in the distribution of many Offices the States nominate three persons, and he choseth one of those three which he pleaseth : he may also remit the punishment of faults committed ; he changeth and renueth every year the chief Magistrates of every City ; and to this purpose double the num-

the most important Priviledges which the Governor enjoys, which together with many others makes him be very much respected and honoured in this new form of Government in *Holland*: so as of one of the Princes Officers which he had wont to be in the former Government, he is now instead of him, made head of the Province: but yet a Head subordinate to the supream authority of the States, which represent now as I have said, that supream Eminencie which did first consist in the person of the Prince; This in brief is the Government of the Province of *Holland*.

The same Form almost is followed by the other Provinces, in some notwithstanding the number of the Cities is greater, in some lesser, which concur with the Nobility, to frame the States of the Province. And the popular multitude is in som greater in the Government of the Cities, in some less. Every Province hath its particular Council of Justice, as in former times, to which Council only in Civil affairs appeals are made from sentences given in the Magistracy of Citys, both in *Holland* and *Zealand*, as hath been said. Affairs receive their finall determination in this Council, unles it be in point of review, as in the high Council of *Holland* and *Zealand*. Every Province doth likewise acknowledge a Governor, though many times one and the same Governor exerciseth this Charge in divers Provinces; as Count *Mauris* of *Nassaw* succeeded to his Father the Prince of *Orange*, in the Government of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Utricht*, to whom the Government of *Overysel* is since added, and Count *William* of the said Family is Governor of *Friesland* and *Groninghen*; and this may suffice for what concerns the particular Government of every Province.

CHAP. V.

The Government of the whole Union.

After having considered every one of the United Provinces apart, as divided Members, I come now to the Government of them United all together in one Body. The Body of the Union consists chiefly in the great Assembly of the States General of the whole seven Provinces. This great Assembly represents the Sovereignty of the Union, and retains now the same eminency over them all, as the Prince did in the former Government: This Assembly is composed of the particular States of each Province: So as the particular States are formed of two sorts of Persons, of the Noble men of the Country, and of the Deputies of Cities; just so the General Assembly of the whole Union is of the same nature with the particular Assemblies of each particular Province, and is composed of the same two degrees of personages: as oft then as any new occasion ariseth wherein great affairs are to be treated of which concern the common interest of the Union, the great Assembly is called, the Summons being given out, each Province sends its Deputies, and send more or less in number, as best pleaseth each Province. Of these Deputies the General Assembly is formed, and is divided into as many Votes, as the Union is divided into Provinces, the Votes being numbred according to the number of the Provinces, and not according to the multitude of the Deputies: The great Assembly being met, they fall upon such resolutions as appertain to the common Interest of the whole

whole Union; as of War, Peace, Truce, of making new confederacies, or of dissolving such as are already made; of laying on new Impositions, or taking off such as are already laid on: and other such like important affairs, all which have respect to the Generall Union.

To pitch upon such resolutions, it is requisit that the seaven Votes of the seaven Provinces doe concur; and because the Interest of one doth not always agree with the Interest of another; hence it is that they usually proceed very slowly in all businesses; and some time that is contradicted by some one Province, which is unanimously agreed upon by all the rest, each of them being desirous to depend with equall liberty upon its proper member or Vote, as all of them with equall commodity depend upon the entire Body: but because in disputes obstinacy doth sometimes prevail over reason; in such cases, the Deputies of such Provinces as are of one and the same mind, are wont to chuse some of themselves whom they send to the Province whose Deputies differ from the great Assembly, thus to endeavour to make them joyn in their Votes with the rest; and thus opiniatry at last yeilds to reason. Thus was *Zealand* drawn to give way unto the Truce, to which it appeared to be too obstinately averse. Upon occasions then of the highest importance, the great Assembly of the Union is usually called, as hath been said; and in the resolving upon any thing, the Votes of the seven Provinces must all agree.

This great Assembly is notwithstanding but very seldom call'd; it bears with it too much of business, for thereupon all the whole Provinces must not only move, but even all the best Cities, and best qualified noblemen that are in them. It is said that in the last great Assembly at *Berghen-ap-Zone*, when the Truce was concluded, the Deputies which met there were in number 800.

And because it is requisit that there be a continuall standing Power which may execute what hath been resolved upon by the great Assembly, the States Generall of the seaven Provinces have unanimously settled a firm and constant Councell which doth represent the great Assembly, and keeps it continually in being, upon the authority whereof the execution of the Sovereign decrees of the great Assembly doth depend.

This Councell consists of Deputies which are from time to time sent by the Provinces: Besides the Authority of executing the Sovereign decrees of the great Assembly, the same Councell doth expedite the weightiest affairs wherein the Interest of the whole Union is from time to time concern'd: and if it shall so fall out that the great Assembly of the States Generall be to be called for any new extraordinary business of great consequence, this Councell drawes up the motives and sends them to the particular States of every Province, to the end that preparation may be had in every one of them requisit for the Generall convocation of them all. The Authority of this Councell is very great; it is called the Councell of the States Generall: and it is distinguished into seaven Votes, as the great Assembly which is by it represented, is distinguished into seaven Provinces.

One of the Deputies is head of this Councell by the name of President, and to the end that the prerogative of every Province may be equall, the Presidents are weekly changed, beginning with those Provinces which are prime in dignity, and which are followed by the rest.

To boot with the Council of the States General, the United Provinces have three Councils apart, one of State, one of the Treasury, another of the Admiralty, which depends upon the Union, and which are subordinate to the Council of the States General; the power of the Councell of State is also great; on it depends the execution of things belonging to the War, and the disposing of moneys which are disposed of by the Union in land Service; all Military affairs even of the Army are likewise ordered by the said Councell; and the Generall in occasions of War is always attended by some of the said Councell, to see that his undertakings be mannaged by their joynt Authority, who do then represent the Supream Authority of the Union; besides matters belonging to War, the said Councell hath its part in the most important Affairs, being as it were a Senat which always intervenes in the Resolutions of highest nature, which are handled in the Councell of the States Generall. The Council of State is composed of Deputies who intervene there in the name of each Province, and the Governors of Provinces have therein a place also.

Into the Councell of the Treasury such moneys are brought as are contributed by every Province for the Occurrences of the whole Union; and this Councell is likewise framed of Deputies of the said Union.

The Councell of the Admiralty hath cognisance of Maritime affairs, and through it doth pass the moneys which the United Provinces receive by their incomes by Sea, the body of this Councell is divided into six members, four of which are distributed in *Holland*, one in *Zealand*, and one in *Friesland*, and these members are likewise Deputies sent thither from each Province: all the Deputies who intervene in these Councils which depend upon the body of the whole Union, are frequently changed, and each Province alters them according to their particular Governments.

The same general Union hath also a supream head in the managing of their Armes by land and Sea, which command at this present is executed by Count *Mauris* of *Nassau*, who succeeded his Father the Prince of *Orange* therein, as he did in being Governor of the above-named Provinces.

This in brief is the form of Government which is now observed in the Commonwealth of the general Union of the United Provinces, in which form it may be observed, that as every Province hath endeavoured to vary as little as may be from the former Government, so the whole Union hath had the same respect. To this purpose the same chief Councils are retained which were formerly observed for the dispatch of affairs which did appertain to the Common Interest of the whole Low Countreys, except only the Privy Councell, whose affairs is now handled in occurrent businesses by the Councell of the States Generall; and for what belongs to the Admiralty, the Councell by reason of the multitude of Maritime affairs which continually occur in the United Provinces, hath rather been added unto, then instituted anew; for at all times the Princes of the Low Countreys have had an Admirall, who together with many other Officers did as then form as it were a Councell for Sea affairs.

These Councils which depend upon the general Union, do usually reside in the *Hague* in *Holland*, except only the Councell of the Admiralty, which is divided into many members, and through severall

Provinces as hath been said. The *Hague* is an open Village, but which for scituation, the resort of People, and exquisit buildings, may be compared to most of the noblest and most delightfull Cities. The Counts of *Holland* did antiently reside in the *Hague*; and in the Palace built by the said Counts, the abovementioned Councils meet. The fitness of *Holland*'s scituation, as also of this Palace, and the laying of the first and strongest roots of the rebellion there hath occasioned the Prerogative of being the place of publique Councils, and affairs to that Province.

By the preceding narration you may see what the present Government of the whole United Provinces in common is, and that the joynt Government of them altogether holds great proportion and correspondence with the severall Government of each one of them. The Cities and Nobles are as it were the Muscles which shape out the Member of each Province, and the Provinces are as members whereof the body of the whole Union is composed; the particular States of every particular Province hold the Sovereignty thereof; and the States Generall retain the Sovereign Eminency of the Union; the particular States consist of Noblemen and Cities, as also do the States Generall. The Assembly of the particular States of each Province meet upon great affairs; and the Assembly of the States Generall of the whole Union upon affairs of greater importancy, as the particular States of every Province are still kept on foot in the Councell which depends thereon; so is the great Assembly of the Union in the Councell of the States Generall which represents the whole Body. Every Province hath a Supream Head, and the whole Union a Head of great Eminency. By this conformity, and mutual knots of Government, the United Provinces are tyed together and joyntly concur in what concerns the common Interest.

CHAP. VI.

The Land-Forces of the United Provinces.

Let us now consider the strength of the United Provinces; first therefore as by land, then by Sea; in what concerns the land, the strength of their Country, the condition of their Towns, the abundance of ammunition for War, the quality and number of their Soldiers may aptly be taken into consideration. First the strength of the United Provinces cannot be imagined to be greater then it is. They are secured on many parts by the Sea; and within land, the *Mause* and the *Rheine* distinguished into several branches, together with the *Ysel*, and many other Rivers serve them for Bulwarks in many other parts. *Zealand* in particular is divided into many Islands, so as by reason of its scituation it may be said to be Impenetrable. *Holland* is likewise almost unaccessable on all sides, in respect of the many large Channels, and Arms of the Sea, which do so many several ways divide it, and compass it; and generally the scituation of all the other Provinces is low and spongie; full of channels and rivers, and very hard to be wonn into.

But their Towns are no less strong then is their Countrey; all the Towns upon their Frontiers are strongly munit, particularly those which lie towards the Archdukes Countrey, where their jealousies are greatest. And to begin with *Sluse* in the Province of *Flanders*; this is

a place which is thought almost untakable, as well for the strength of its situation, which is altogether amongst Marshes and low Channels, as having all the higher parts thereof very well fortified with outward Earth-works where the Trenches may be opened. In *Brabant* they have the strong Fort of *Lillo*, almost within sight of *Antwerp*. They have *Berghen-ap-Zone*, *Breda*, *Gatrinburg*, *Heusden*, *Grave*, and the strong Hold of *Crevecoeur*, all of them places strongly munitied both by Nature and Art. On that side of *Ghelderland* which looks towards *Brabant*, and in that part thereof which is within the Archdukes Dominions, the Low Countreys have likewise many strong Holds, and particularly the Fort of Saint *Andrews*, near *Balduke* in the Island of *Bommell*, and not far off that of *Worden*, *Nimingen*, and *Schincks Sconce*; to boot that on that side of *Ghelderland*, the *Rheine* and *Mause* make the entrance very difficult. More inward the said Provinces have generally many strong places, both by situation and Art; nor is it almost to be exprest what diligence they use in the managing of their Towns and Forts.

For what concerns warlike ammunition, all the strong Holds and Towns of the United Provinces are abundantly well provided; they have great store of Artillery every where, and of all other Provisions necessary for War, of Engins, and all sorts of warlike Instruments; great likewise is their Provision of Victuals every where; and 'tis seldom or never seen that they lose any place for want, either of victuals or ammunition, which are particularly extracted out of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and cannot with greater accommodation be distributed, being convey'd in boats by water to every place, and where rivers are wanting, their default is made good by channels cut out by hand, of which the whole Countrey is full, and as it were link'd together.

As for the condition and number of their Soldiers; their Militia is composed of partly homebred Soldiers, partly foreigners; their Countrey is not great enough to furnish them with Soldiers sufficient in number for their occasions, nor are all their people equally adapted for the Militia profession. Those of *Holland* and *Zealand* are not good at land-Service; the other Provinces breed Soldiers good enough both for horse and foot; but by sea the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* bear away the bell, not only among all those of the Northern Nations, but even throughout the whole World. The greatest Nerve of their proper Militia consists in the Soldiers of their own Countrey which lie most within land; but the strongest and most solid nerve of their Army consists in the number and condition of their foreign Forces. Since the first beginning of the War of *Flanders*, and that the United Provinces began to be favoured by *France* and *England*, they have always had great store of Soldiers from each of these Kingdoms; yea even since the Truce they have a great strength of foot from *France*, *England* and *Scotland*, and to boot with the Souldiers of these Nations, they take into pay a great number of *German* foot. The United Provinces may at this time have in their Army about 6000 French-men, 4000 whereof are maintained by the Crown of *France* under two field Marshals, the other 2000 are mingled amongst those of the other Nations. The English may be about 3000, the Scots 2000, and the Germans 3000: All the rest of their foot consists of their own Soldierie; by this account we may judge that the United Provinces maintain now since the Truce 20000 foot, and 2500 horse; to boot with the

4000 forementioned French foot, which together with 200 horse are still maintained by the Crown of *France*: By reason of their continual jealousies of the Spaniard, they have not any ways lessened their foreign forces, though the Truce be made, and have cashier'd but few of their own men. Of foreigners, the French are much commended for their valour; next the English, and after them the Scots; the Germans are naturally slow, but well govern'd, and very usefull for manual works which happen howerly in their Armies; and as for the People themselves of the United Provinces, they lean more to the nature of the Dutch, then of foreigners, and this may suffice for their Strength by Land.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Maritime Forces.

FOur considerations may also be had concerning their Forces by Sea. The quantity of their Vessels; the abundance of all things necessary to furnish them, the number of their Mariners, and their Skill in Navigation.

To begin with the number of their Vessels, by common judgment it is esteem'd to be as great as almost that of all *Europe* besides. The number of ships which people the arms of the Sea, the Bays and Havens of *Holland* and *Zealand* is almost infinit; besides there are very many in the Maritime parts of *Friesland*; but their number is greatest in *Holland*, and more in *Amsterdam* then in any other City of that Province. It will not be amiss to say something here in particular of *Amsterdam*: On the more Northern parts of *Holland* the Sea, after having made its way through more then one obstacle by land, and made several breaches, washes *Holland* again in its most shut-up parts, and makes there a large Gulf which in their language is called *Zuyderzee*. the Sea dividing it self from this greater gulf into many lesser, which are all Navigable for any Vessel how great soever, comes at last to shut it self up, and as it were to hide it self within land in a deep channel, upon whose banks the City extends it self, the Walls whereof are not only wash'd by the Sea, but the said Sea passeth through the City, in many Channels by which lesser Barks do commodiously convey from the greater all sorts of Merchandize which are carried into the Warehouses and Magazines of the City, the greater Vessels ride within sight of the Walls, which are so many and stand so thick, as their Masts and Sails do bound the sight of the lookers on: so many ships fraught with all sorts of Merchandise come from all parts of the World, to meet and inglobe themselves as it were in *Amsterdam*; so as that Town may in these days be esteemed the most frequented and Merchantlike, not only of *Europe*, but even of the whole world. This City is grown to this greatness and Opulency by reason of the War; though commerce did formerly flourish there very much, the War hath much diminish'd the Traffick of *Antwerp*, and hath afforded occasion to the Hollanders and Zealanders to Traffick into the Indies; so as these are the reasons of the so great growth of *Amsterdam*. In former time *Antwerp* was the staple Town of Merchandise of all *Europe*, and *Lyon* was the like for those that come from the Indies; but since the War, *Amsterdam* hath as it were monopolized all the Merchandizing

chandizing both of *Europe* and the *Indies*; and hath almost quite undone both *Antwerp* and *Lisbon*, by reason whereof the concourse of vessels to that is city very great: *Roterdam* is held the next place for traffick in *Holland*. Here are likewise at all times great store of shipping, and many ships are here built, it being one of the chiefest *Arsenals* of *Holland*: near to *Roterdam* lies *Dort* drowned as it were in a large channel of the Sea, a City whereunto many ships do also continually resort. Near to *Amsterdam* upon the same Gulf of *Zuyderzee* which hath been spoken of, many other good Towns lie frequented by great and numerous Vessels, but especially *Enchusen*, a place famous for building of shipping: many other Towns of *Holland* by reason of the Arms of the Sea, are very full of ships; and because *Holland* is environ'd almost every where by the Sea, and that the water stands there in many places, because many Rivers run through it, and the Channels therein cut by hand, which always are very full of Vessels; some have wittily said that there are more houses in *Holland* on the water then in the land: as for the shipping in *Zealand*, great store are built there likewise, and specially belonging to the City of *Midleburg*, which is the chief City of that Province. *Flushing* is likewise a very famous Port Town in *Zealand*; and because this Town lies more forward in the Sea then *Midleburg*, it may be term'd the Gate which opens and shuts up the entrance into *Zealand*: In this Haven there are therefore always many Vessels, and hither come those first, which come for *Zealand*. Many ships likewise are set out from *Friesland*, and particularly from *Harlinghem*, a famous Haven which looks towards *Holland*.

The great abundance of all things necessary for them, is answerable to this their store of shipping: and that which is the greatest wonder is, that *Holland* which abounds most in all these things, doth not produce almost any of them from within her self: there doth not grow any corn of whatsoever sort in *Holland*; yet *Europe* hath not a more plentiful Granary: No flax growes in *Holland*, yet from thence doth issue an infinit deal of linnen cloth: no wool comes from *Holland*, yet is there great store of cloth made there: There are no woods in *Holland*, yet this Province builds more ships then almost all *Europe* besides: *Holland* abounds within it self with cattel, with fish, and all things made of milk; which being salted, and great provision made thereof, their ships are plentifully provided therewith: like provision is likewise made of all other sorts of Victuals necessary for life, of cloth for wearing, of sayl clothes for sayling, and of all things else which belong to Navigation; so as there is not only nothing wanting in the United Provinces of what is necessary for setting forth whatsoever number of ships, but a great superabundance thereof.

Then for the number of Mariners, who are the animated Instruments of Navigation, they yeild not in number to the other unanimate necessaries. The People of *Holland* and *Zealand* do generally betake themselves to one of two professions, either to Merchandizing or Seafaring; and because both these Provinces are very full of Inhabitants, especially *Holland*, there are enough left for Sea affairs. All the Inhabitants of *Zealand* except those of *Midleburg*, are Mariners; their number is infinit in *Amsterdam*, as in the most Merchant Towns which are situated on the Sea; and in this Province the Rivers and Channels may be said to be the habitations of these sort of men; to which in nature and in profession an infinit number of Fishermen do correspond.

But

But after all this, how great and how miraculous is their Skill in Navigation? The People of those parts are naturally more addicted to sea, then to land Affairs. The very Children suck in the precepts of Navigation with their Mothers milk; and every house in *Holland* and *Zealand* may be said to be a School thereof: when they have run over the more neighbouring seas in their younger years, being grown more strong, they betake themselves to plough up the farther deeps, till by their continual Navigation having measured every Angle of the Ocean, they dare venture even upon the taming of the fury or tempest thereof.

There is no Climate, Star, nor winde which they are not well acquainted with: They are bred up in these sorts of Labours and sufferings; and triumphing; as it were, over even Nature it self, contrary to the Laws thereof they joyn together the farthest distant Seas; carry the one Pole to the other, and making one Hemisphere of two, they joyn together, not onely in Commerce, but as it were in one place, the farthest remote Nations of the Earth. Thus by their so many singular successes in Sea-affairs, especially by their Navigation in the *Indies*, but chiefly by the attempt which the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* made, not many yeares agoe, towards the Northern parts of the Frozen sea, their renown is grown so great throughout the whole World, as they may be said to have clouded the glory of all other Nations. These People did not apply themselves in former times in sayling to the *Indies*; the *Spaniard* did not permit them so to doe, till the Warre was commenc'd; and after it was begun, they being suffered notwithstanding to frequent the *Spanish* Seas, they were contented with this near and moderate gain, rather then to adventure upon vast and immoderate Traffique, which was to be fetch'd from new Seas, and from new and unknown Winds. The Rebels of *Holland* were afterwards forbidden by the *Spaniards* to come neer any of their Ports. Irritated therefore by despair of losing at once the Commerce with Spain, and their share of that of the *Indies*, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* resolved to venture of themselves into those so remote parts. Nor did they make any long delay: They furnish'd out some few ships at first, and putting to Sea; made towards the South, and then turning towards the East, they with much courage ended so long and toylsome a Voyage.

This their first Adventure did not notwithstanding prove very fortunate, nor much gainfull to them: but having much better successe in their after-Voyages, they in a short time rendred those Seas so familiar to their People, that they goe now to the *East-Indies* with as much ease, as if they went for Pastime from one of their own Ports to another. But this so great a daring ended not here: nor were they contented to have addrest their Designs to the commerce of the *Indies*. After they had found out this new way of Traffique, and after having brought by many Voyages an inestimable Treasure of Spicery into *Holland*, to the great prejudice of the Crown of *Spain*, they had courage enough oftentimes to insult over the *Portugals* in those Seas, and even to besiege them within those Townes and Cities which had been by them alone for so many years peacefully posselt. They likewise have sailed into the West *Indies*, but they cannot as yet get any admittance there, meeting with greater difficulties and more obstacles, for that it is almost totally populated with *Spanish* Colonies; yet had not the Truce insued, they had designed to have raised new Forces that they might get footing there likewise; to the end that they might continually infest those Seas, and the firm land; and have a narrower watch upon the *Spanish* Fleet, which if it should at any time fall into their hands, the *Spaniards*

ards would thereby assuredly receive a greater blow then they have done at any time before : by what hath been said , it may be comprehended how great the strength of the United Provinces is by Sea, and what advantages they are likely to make thereby upon all occasions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Revenue, and Expences of the United Provinces.

IT now remains that we see what moneys the United Provinces receive, and how they lay them out ; it is commonly judged that in time of War, according to the greater or lesser occasions of expence, they contribute one year with another eight millions of Florins, for the service of their generall Union, which amounts to the sum of 3200000 Crowns, at the rate of five shillings a Crown, in this common disbursement every Province contributed its particular proportion, according to the utmost of their abilities, unless it were some moneys which by the way of common hostility in the time of War was gathered in common from the whole Union : All hostility being now at an end by the Truce, this kind of Tax doth likewise cease. In time of War also, because all the Ports of *Flanders* were continually besieged by the Ships of the United Provinces, all Forrein Merchandize were unloaded in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, to the great profit of those two Provinces in particular, and to the great advantage of the General Union : Whereas now the Seas being open, much Merchandize will certainly be hereafter brought into the Ports of *Flanders* : The Union hath not now almost any income by the way of common disbursement ; and therefore the moneys which the United Provinces contribute for the expence of the whole Union, consist in what is raised severally from every one of them.

The United Provinces raise almost all their moneys by way of impositions ; which to say truth are so great there, as they cannot well be greater ; but the People bear them patiently ! Their Liberty could not long endure without Arms, nor their arms without stipends, nor their stipends without impositions ; and the United Provinces will always so apprehend the Power of *Spain*, as they will easily be persuaded to be always prepar'd for War, that so they may the easilier evade all new hazards.

The monies which are raised in common from the said Provinces, are contributed as hath bin said, according to the possible abilities of each of them. *Holland* which is the greatest and richest of all the rest, contributes the one half of the whole : next to *Holland*, *Zealand* is Taxed heavier then any of the other six, and the other concur with their convenient proportions : For example sake, of a hundred *Holland* furnisheth fifty ; *Zealand* about twenty ; *Friesland* twelve ; and the rest with very little difference the remainder.

The moneys must needs be very great which the United Provinces spend in their common interest, their Countrey being considered, which is but of a small circuit ; besides every Province reserves a proportion for several occasions of their own ; but Traffick makes good what is wanting in Land ; and the commodiousness of the Sea, supplies their narrowness of ground ; and the industry of the Inhabitants,

tants, the defects of Nature. They manage their moneys to the best advantage, their Army which may be said to exhaust the whole, is paid with many limitations; in paying of the Soldiery they account forty days to the month, so as their Military year falls very short in months. The United Provinces use not those entertainments, nor those advantages of Pay which are used in the King of *Spains* Army; so as their salary being limited, they are well pay'd, and their Souldiers do not mutiny; and consequently they are not subject to such disorder of Muteny, as the *Spaniards* are, by which the Crown of *Spain* hath been greatly indammaged. All the moneys of the General Union are laid out as hath been said, in the maintenance of their Militia; and 'tis thought that the United Provinces in time of Truce do disburse therein 2800000 crownes a year.

The said Provinces are much indebted to *France* and *England* for moneys which they have received from those two Crowns upon several occasions in time of War; and they also upon the same Terms owe great sums upon Interest to divers Merchants of their own Countrey.

Every Province apart hath their particular Revenues, as also their particular expences: *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friesland*, are at great expence in maintaining their Banks and Channels, that they may keep their Country as dry and passable as they can; but *Holland* and *Zealand* are particularly at great Charges in keeping out the Sea, which doth oftentimes strangely indammage them; the Ocean appears more angry and more tempestuous on that shore then in any other part of *Europe*; and there you would believe the Sea and Land to be at greater variance then any where else, and that there the two Elements shewed their greatest enmity one to another.

THE



THE
RELATION
OF THE
United Provinces
OF
FLANDERS,

Written by the Cardinall *Bentivoglio*.

BOOK II.

C A P. I.

An Introduction briefly describing the War of Flanders. Madam de Parma is made Regent of Flanders.



What hath been said may suffice for what concerns the Countrey, People, Government, Strength, Incomes; and Expences of the United Provinces. I will now tell you how their Militia is Govern'd: Count *Mauris* of *Nassaw* is General of all their Soldiery; but being to speak of this Commander, who is at this time of so high esteem, it is requisite, to the end that I may the more clearly set down his Actions, that in the first place I treat of those of his Father the Prince of *Orange*, who hath been so much heard and spoken of in this our Age; to the which I am likewise invited by a particular desire I have by representing the Nature, Actions, and death of this Prince; to give you a breviat of the beginnings, chief events, and end of this last so long and memorable War of the Low Countreys:

The House of *Nassaw* hath its originall, and still keeps its chief root in *Germany*, and is accounted one of the antientest, and most noble of those parts. Out of *Germany* came *William* (so was the Prince of *Orange* called) into *Flanders* when he was yet but a childe, and was received into the Service of the Emperor *Charls* the fifth, by whose particular favour, rather then by any necessary proximity of blood, he

he afterwards remained heir of the House of *Schalloune*, and of a bare Count of *Nassau* (being enriched with much wealth) came likewise by this succession to inherit the Principality of *Orange* in *France*: He together with this, acquir'd greater Fortunes from the Emperor: afterward when *Charles* went to spend the rest of his days privately in *Spain*, and his Son King *Philip* staid for a while in *Flanders*, *Orange* continued still in great favour with the King: *Philip* was likewise afterwards to return for *Spain*, so as it was necessary to think upon some one who might supply his place in the Government of *Flanders*: Two Princesses were chiefly in nomination thereunto; the one *Christierna* Dutches Dowager of *Lorrain*; the other *Margaret*, wife to *Octavius Fernelse*, Duke of *Parma*; the first being Neece by the sisters side to the Emperor, the other his natural daughter. *Christierna* was much desired by the Nobility of the Countrey, as she who by the neighbourhood of *Lorrain* was well known in *Flanders*, and who by reason of the conformity of those two Countreys was likely to be more gracious in her Government, and more conformable generally to the Pallat of the *Dutch*; and the peace which chiefly by her means had but a little before been concluded in *Cambrey*, was yet fresh in their memory; and the Prince of *Orange* was of all others chiefly for the choice of *Christierna*; for he had some hope to marry a daughter of hers, by which means he did aspire to be the Arbitror and Moderator of her Government.

On the other side, the Kings officers of State were more for *Margaret*; 'twas thought she would be more affectionate to the Kings affairs than *Christierna*, to whom they gave the title of a French woman, and thought her more interested in the Crown of *France*, in respect of *Lorrain*: Whereas *Margaret*, in respect of her neerer relation to the blood Royal, by reason of so many interests of the Family of the *Fernelsees* in *Italy*, with the Crown of *Spain*, and for that *Alexander* her onely son was then intended for the Kings Court, as a pledg of greater dependancy, was held to be wholly for the Spanish Faction. At last the considerations which made for *Margaret* prevailed; whereupon she was chosen, and declared to be Regent of *Flanders*, and to that purpose was sent for from *Italy*.

CHAP. II.

The Prince of Orange his Distasts, and Nature: The first alterations in Flanders arise, and are quieted.

An. 1559.

THE Prince of *Orange* being netled by this Election, was afterwards stung to the quick, with the obstacle which he met withal in his pretended Marriage with the Dutches of *Lorain's* daughter. The King did not like that one so great in *Flanders*, should yet become greater by this neer leaning stock of *Lorrain*: and that instead of such aliance as might become a Subject, he should be raised to an aliance so neer the King himself: nor had the Prince of *Orange* such a stroke in the Government afterwards with the Regent, as he willingly would have had; he therefore grew wroth within, and had a great desire to try some novelty, and therewithall to open his way to more eminent Fortune amongst the general innovations. The Prince of *Orange* was in great esteem with the *Dutch*; and truly he was a man of very great

great parts: Of a strong body, constant minde, flowing tongue, and good at counsel; he was very dextrous, and wonderful vigilant; but these vertues were counterpoised with much greater vices: There was no faithfulness in him, no goodness, no shame to do evil; his religion was onely outward; he was of an unquiet minde, and greatly ambitious, nor was there ever any who knew better how to winde people by deceit, nor how better to clothe his own ends with zeal to the Publick.

The King being return'd ~~of~~ Spain, the first jealousie given by the Prince of Orange, was his Marrying of Anne daughter to Maurice, Elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran. Returning from Germany with his new wife to Brussels, he met not with much difficulty in ordering his pre-meditated revolutions. The people of Flanders were then much stir'd up, and all the three orders of which the body of the Provinces were framed, were almost equally agrieved. The Ecclesiastick, by a new erection of Episcopacy which resulted to the great dishonor of the Monastical Abbots, in whom the highest degree of Ecclesiasticks did before consist: The order of the Nobility, because they saw they were forever to be deprived of the presence of their natural Prince, and to fall into the Government of a Forraigner, where in the too great and too Imperious authority which the Cardinal Granville held with the Regent, appeared to them to be in particular too intollerable. The Popular order, for that the people of Flanders being accustomed to live in much liberty, and many of them being thereupon fall into the licentiousness of Heresie, they could not endure the new rigour of the publick edicts, against such as were infected, which rigour was termed by the hateful title of the Spanish Inquisition.

The nobles were they who first blew the cole in publick, which till then went secretly creeping on, and the first flame was kindled by Meyn heer Beudrae, by a licentious petition, which he and Count Lodovick, brother to the Prince of Orange, accompanied by a great many others of the Nobility, presented to the Regent: They instanced therein with peremptory words, for moderation in the regal edicts, and that all use of the Inquisition should be taken away: this licentiousness of the Nobility, was the birth of a popular commotion which insued not long after. A number of the baser sort of people gathered together in divers places, but chiefly in Antwerp, who grew too bold, as impudently to violate Churches, beat down Altars, break Images, and to introduce that Heresie bare fac'd, which till then had hiddenly, and in secret been the cause of the evils; which were not notwithstanding then so great, but that sufficient remedies were found for them. The Regent applyed at first such lenitive medicines as the time administred; and afterwards taking courage, shee compelled Valenciennes by force to return to their due obedience. Shee entered her self, in person also, armed into Antwerp, and reduced it and many other Cities into their former rule of Government.

The first commotions in Flanders seem'd to be as soon extinguished, as raised, when news was brought that the Kings anger was re-kindled against the Dutch, and that the Duke of Alva was chosen to put his rigour in execution. The Prince of Orange had always temporised with the Regent, but when he heard that the Duke of Alva was

on his march, and drew neer, he openly discovered his minde, and retired into *Germany*, together with his brother *Lodovick*: He thought it now no longer time to temporise: he considered he might do so whilst he had to do with a Regent, who was a woman, and in the power of Dutch forces; but what security could he hope for from so great a Commander, as was the Duke of *Alva*, who came to execute the Kings orders in the head of a Forraign Army, with his sword in his hand; what suspitions might he think his former actions had occasioned? and how many had he indeed given? And he feigned his fears to be the greater, that he might stir up greater desire of Revolutions; resolving then not to wait the arrival of the Dukes Forces, he withdrew to the parts which lay neere *Germany*, that he might there wait the time which might recal him to those innovations wherewith *Flanders* was threatned.

CHAP III.

An. 1567.

The Duke of Alva succeeds the Dutche of Parma; Flanders is in a rage, great part thereof do rise, and the War is kindled.

THe Duke of *Alva* entered the Low-Countries the year 1567, bringing with him a powerful Army, all of them being almost Spaniards; more powerful in valour then umber of men. He took upon him the Government; his first intentions were to secure such of the Nobility and Cities as he most suspected; he therefore forthwith imprisoned Count *Egmont*, and Count *Horn*, together with many others of the Nobility of that Country; and prepared heavy yokes of Citadels for many Cities, which were of greatest consideration, either for their scituation or for their Inhabitants: the first and chiefest was that of *Ammerp*; and to the yoke of Citadels, he added the bridle of armed Garrisons.

These so rigorous Foundations of Government being laid by the Duke, it remained to see what commotions might thereby be made as well within as without *Flanders*; there were great dangers both within and without. From *France* to boot with the wonted jealousies which the Spaniards received from this neighbourhood, they had reason then to doubt the faction of the Hereticks, who with very great Forces kept that Kingdom then infested and troubled. The Queen of *England* conspiring likewise with the Hugonots of *France*, had the same designe of fomenting the Heresy and Rebellion of the Low Countreys, and to do what in her lay to bereave the Spaniard quite of them, to the end that her Kingdom might be free from the neighbourhood of this suspected power. Such Hereticall Princes of *Germany* as were nearest, affrighted by the example of the Dutch, and apprehending least the slavery which was introduced upon those of *Flanders*, might be extended even into *Germany*, did readily agree in the same thoughts and Councils; these were the dangers from abroad; but those at home were of no less importance, for that the Dutch differing from the Spaniards so much in Climat, in Customs and in Laws, and that Nation being so incens'd against this by reason of what had happened of new, it was plainly seen, that the Dutch would only for bear rising till they might have occasion of discovering themselves.

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The first dangers arose from without; the Prince of *Orange* and his brother *Lodovick*, were retired as hath been said into *Germany*; neither were they then idle. Their Family was greatly allyde and adhered unto in those parts, and they wonn easie belief to their feigned and specious pretences, wherewith under the title of the common good, they coloured their departure from *Flanders*, and their privat ends: it was not long ere they took up Arms, and *Lodovick* was the first who carryed the War into *Friesland*, wherein he proved very fortunate: Count *Aremberg* who was sent against him by the Duke of *Alva* with great Forces was routed, and himself slain in battel: The Duke being hereat moved, resolv'd to go himself in person to fight, and drive out *Lodovick*; having first caused the heads of Count *Egmont* and Count *Horn* to be stricken off at *Brussels*; the Army was instantly on its march, and speedily led into *Friesland*; where the Dukes arrival, fight and victory, was one and the same things; so as *Lodovick* being defeated, and made to fly, he retyred again to *Germany*.

But the Prince of *Orange* had again prepared a more important war against the Duke: He not long after entred the Country with a powerfull Army which he had raised in *Germany*; which being increased by *Hugonots* Forces from *France*, after he had in vain laboured to get some men from *Liege*, he staid in *Brabant*, hoping assuredly to raise some insurrections thereabouts, and to get footing in some chief City; but for that time he failed in his designe; for he found the Duke of *Alva* on his Front, who having the art of incamping and conquering without the expence of blood, did in a short time drive him out of the Countrey. The Duke returned in triumph unto *Brussels*: and if he had been pleased after the punishments he had inflicted within the Town, and the Victories he had brought from abroad, to have temporized and mitigated the rigour of his Government, there had been great hopes that the affairs of *Germany* might have been accommodated in some convenient manner, and the signes thereof grew already greater by a general pardon sent from the King; when the Duke being inexorable, would not revoke the resolution he had taken of laying some new and unaccustomed Impositions upon all the goods, as well moveable as unmoveable, which were in the Country. The *Dutch* thought it then too hard that they should not only undergo, but that themselves should nourish the slavery, which by so many several ways the Duke of *Alva* would introduce amongst them; who till that time were wont to live without almost any grievances, and to be govern'd as Free men. The risings in the Low Countreys being then become inevitable, the first thunder thereof was heard in *Zealand*: Then *Holland* beginning to move, and many of the Cities which were scituated on the confines of *France*, the People flew out into fury every where, and ran to take up Arms. *Lodovick* took the City of *Mons*, one of the chiefest which lay towards *France*; and his brother the Prince of *Orange* prepared the mean while to enter the Country a second time, with as powerfull an Army as was the first.

The Duke of *Alva*, inviron'd with so many difficulties, and floating between the importance and diversitie of resolutions, whether he were to sease upon *Holland* and *Zealand*, which by reason of the sea were the Provinces of greatest consideration, or those Cities scituate upon the confines of *France*, which were exposed to the danger they were threatned with by the *Hugonots* of that Kingdom; at last the

the greatest being that which was to be feared from *France*, prevailed. He then made his son *Frederick* encamp with the flower of his Army about *Mons*; and he himself came thither afterwards together with the Duke of *Medina Celi*, who was come not long before by Sea from *Spain*, to succeed him in the Government. The Siege began luckily; the succours of the *French Hugonots* were routed and discomfited on the one side, and it was ended with like success, the other succour which was brought from *Germany* by the Prince of *Orange*, being likewise repuls'd and brought into great straits; but though *Orange* could not relieve *Mons*, yet did not his entrance into the Country prove altogether uneffectual: for before he attempted to relieve that Town, he had taken *Ruremonde* in *Gelderland*, *Malines*, and many other Towns; and this his second breaking in, had caused great commotions amongst the People; he afterwards retired, not having men enough to keep the field; and having soon lost all that he had wonn, he withdrew himself, rather in a fugitive then conquered posture into *Holland*; wherein and in *Zealand*, by the advantage of the Sea, and Rivers, together with the pertinaciousness of those people, and the Authority which he had there as Governor of both those Provinces, he laid the chief seat of the War, and of his designs.

The whole body of the Insurrection and of the War being then reduced into *Holland* and *Zealand*, very memorable actions happen'd in both those Provinces. In *Zealand* the succour which was brought by *Christopher Mandragones*, one of the most cryd up Commanders of the *Spanish* Nation at that time; to the besieged of *Turgoes*, were the most remarkable actions of war, which were read of either in antient or modern History; He with a strength of *Spaniards*, and Souldiers of some other Nations, at a low ebb pass'd over an Arm of the Sea six miles broad, and after having valiantly overcome all the difficulties of the contrary party, which were judg'd not to be possibly overcome, he at last to his great glory brought in the relief in *Holland*, besides other successes, the siege of *Harlem* was very famous; it was eight months in dispute whether the constancy of the besiegers or the besieged would prove the greater; but those within the Town yielded at the last, and underwent such punishments, as a fatall memory remained ever after in *Holland*, both of this success, and of the Duke of *Alva*, whose Government soon after ended.

CHAP. IV.

The Duke of Alva's departure; he is succeeded by the Com-mendador Maggior of Castile, who dies.

THE Duke of *Medina* being astonish'd to see the affairs of *Flanders* in so turbulent a condition, refused the Government thereof. *Don Luis de Rechafens* was then Governor of *Millan*, he was Com-mendador Maggior of *Castile*, and great was the opinion of his valour. The King commanded him to succeed the Duke of *Alva*, who at his first entrance into *Flanders*, resolv'd by the moderation of his Govern-ment, to make the Duke of *Alva's* rigidness be forgotten; but as wounds ill cured at first, usually become incurable, so, so many and so putrid were the humors whereof the insurrection of the Low Countreys were compos'd, as hardly any cure could be apply'd there-

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unto. Neither swords, nor lenitives could any longer avail. The pertinaciousness and daring of the Rebels growing still greater, it behov'd the Commendador to trie whether he could tame them by the sword or no; the events were various; but those at sea, or in the rivers by the *Spanish* against the *Maretime* forces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, proved unfortunate to the *Spaniard*, so as ere long the Commendador saw himself quite bereft of those two Provinces.

These losses were in part restored by the rout which was given near *Mock* in *Ghelderland* to Count *Lodovick*; who together with his brother *Henry*, and *Christopher* Count Palatin of *Rheine*, was entred the County again with some *German* Forces; his Army was routed; and he, his brother and *Christopher* all three slain, to the great honor of the *Spanish* Commanders, to whom so important a Victory cost the loss of but very little blood; but they reaped but little good thereby, by reason of the mutiny which not long after brake out amongst the *Spanish* Soldiers for want of pay: After the battel at *Mock*, the memorable siege of *Leyden* in *Holland* succeeded: The *Spaniards* had already brought them within the Town into great straits, when they found themselves without, to be in very great danger. The Hollander took a desperat advice to relieve *Leyden* by cutting many rivers into one, whereby they drowned a great part of the Country, and so at last relieved the Town by water, which they could not do by land; and the City was freed from the siege, the besiegers becoming the besieged, and many of them perished in the waters.

There were some hopes at this time of putting an end to their troubles by som fair accommodation. The Emperor *Radulphus* appeared therein, who sent *Ambassadors* to *Flanders* to this end; but this endeavor proved quickly vain, the *Hollanders* and their adherents being become too contumacious, and suffering themselves to be too easily carryed away by the Prince of *Orange* his artifices, wherby he wrought so, as those just conditions of Peace propounded on the King of *Spains* behalf were not admitted of. They consisted chiefly of two points; that the Rebels should return to their due obedience to their King, and that they should restore the *Roman* Catholick Religion into its former condition. Upon these conditions, the King offered to satisfy the rebels in all the other principall concernments, as in taking away all foreigners; in taking away all garisons and Impositions, and in restoring them to their Priviledges and former government. The rebels did not openly deny obedience to the King; but that they might not return unto their allegiance, propounded difficulties not to be answered nor overcome, and for what concerned their Religion, they went about to justify their old intentions by various pretences; particularly by affirming that *Holland* and *Zealand* would be in a great measure unpeopled, if all they were to go from thence who were of the reformed Religion, as they term'd it. All Treaties of peace being thus suddenly cut off, the War continued on all sides, and it was innobled in particular by two new enterprises of the *Spaniards* in *Zealand*, like to that first of *Mandragones*: The *Spaniard* did thus, not only in despite of nature, but even of their enemies, keep footing in *Holland* and in *Zealand*, where in a few days the Commendador died of a violent Feaver.

CHAP. V.

The Councell of State takes the Government upon them.

THe Commendador being dead, the Councell of State took upon them the administration, but little good was to be expected from the dividing of that Authority into many, which was united into one alone; and the fidelity of divers of the Councell began already to be apparently corrupted, and it was soon known that they joyned in the conspiracy with the Prince of *Orange*; by means of the said Prince, some of the chief of the Councell who stood firmly for the King and *Spanish* Interest, were quickly made Prisoners; whereupon the Councell turn'd all their resolutions, to enforce the *Spaniards* to quit the Low-Countries; to boot with the first dislike which the *Dutch* had in general of the *Spaniards*; those of the Councell made use of a new pretence, that they might with the greater resolution prosecute their designs: which was, that the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of the Town of *Alost*, in the very Province of *Flanders*, after a great many of them had again mutinied with danger of much prejudice to the Countrey thereby. They were then by publick declaration of the whole Councell, all of them proclaimed Rebels; and the people in all parts rose up in Arms against them; upon the same pretence they betook themselves to besiege the best Forts which were guarded by the *Spaniards*; and unless it were the Citadell of *Antwerp*, all their Forts fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who had joyn'd their Forces together to that purpose.

Another practice of importancy yet remained to end the business, wherein the Prince of *Orange* used his utmost skill; which was, That all the Provinces of the Low Countries should be reconciled in one, and to joyn together with *Holland* and *Zealand*, and that they should all unanimously provide for the common Interest. The Deputies of all the Provinces except, *Luxembourg*, &c. convened together to this purpose in *Gant*, which is the chiefest City of *Flanders*, and concluded the peace which went afterwards by the name of *Gant*. The chief Articles thereof were, that all Forreiners were to be driven out by the Common Arms; that they should endeavour to get the King to restore them to their first Government; that for what concerns Religion, except *Holland* and *Zealand*, all the other Provinces should suffer no other Religion to be exercised in them save what was *Roman* Catholick; and that the results of matters of Religion in those two particular Provinces, should be reserved to be determined by the States General, which were to meet as soon as might be. The Prince of *Orange* thought it impossible that the King of *Spain* should approve of this peace, and therefore firmly believed that all the other Provinces would very speedily joyn in the same Insurrection with *Holland* and *Zealand*.

The *Spaniards* this mean while met together from many parts, and resolving to be roundly revenged of the *Dutch*, who had declared them to be Rebels, and exposed them as it were to a publick and generall slaughter, went towards the Citadell of *Antwerp*. They rested very few houres of the day, and were very weary when they came thither, notwithstanding without taking any manner of rest, they with one accord resolved either to die, or sup that very night in *Antwerp*; they made

made no long delay: they marched out of the Citadell in good order to the number of about 3000. and gave on with such resolution and force upon the Enemies trenches, who in great numbers besieged the Citadel on that side which lay towards the Town, as the breaking through them and making them fly, was one and the same action, and effected as soon as begun. The *Spaniards* sufficiently glutted with the blood of their Enemies, went presently to sack the City, wherein they spent three whole days, and which was the occasion of those great miseries, and calamities which might satisfy the hatred, revenge, lust and avarice of the prevailing side.

CHAP. VI.

Don John of Austria comes unexpectedly into Flanders, and dies suddenly.

THE Affairs of *Flanders* stood thus, When news came that *Don John* of *Austria*, natural brother to the King was unexpectedly arrived in the Loyl Coun try of *Luxemburg*; his arrival did strangely stagger all those that were desirous of novelty, but especially the Prince of *Orange*; he saw that *Don John* being of the blood Royal, having won so great renown in *Spain* in the War against the *Moors*, and in the memorable *Naval* fight of *Lepanto*, being besides of a quick wit, and attracting demeanor; he saw I say that by his means, the Low Countreys might easily be reduced into a peaceable condition, which did not correspond with *Orange* his ends; his first endeavour therefore was, to keep *Don John* from being admitted to have the Government; and he hoped to effect it, for that he thought he would never consent to the peace of *Gaunt*: but here his hopes failed him, by reason of the agreement made between *Don John* and the Provinciall States in *Marchia*, a Town in *Luxemburg*, wherein he approved of the peace of *Gaunt*, and all the *Spaniards* and other Forreiners were forthwith sent away, except some *Dutch* who wanted their pay.

An. 1577.

After this agreement at *Marchia*, *Don John* was received with great pomp and rejoycing into *Brussels*; but the quiet which was hereupon hoped for, lasted but for awhile; it was not to be believed that *Don John* would have again betaken himself to force, he not having any Arms, and being absolutely in the hands of the *Dutch*; yet such was the cunning used by the Prince of *Orange*, partly by cavelling at the Articles of Agreement of *Marchia*, and partly in laying the delay of not dispatching away the *Germans*, which he could not so suddenly do for want of pay, to *Don Johns* default, as the said *Don John* found himself presently to be much suspected, and in danger of inevitable treacheries against his person. The Lady Margaret of *Vallois* Queen of *Navarr*, went casually at this time to the Bath of the Spaw; *Don John* would not let the so opportune an occasion, but departing from *Brussels* under pretence of Complement to the Queen, he possess'd himself at unawares of the Castle of *Namures*, a City which confines upon the Country of *Luxemburg* on that side which lies towards *France*, and there secured himself; yet many were then of opinion, that this resolution of making himself master of that Castle was cunningly infused into *Don John* by the Prince of *Orange* himself, to make him thereby the more suspicious, and so the affairs might the easilier return to their

former troubles; nor did this his designe prove vain. This was interpreted a declaring of War, whereupon the whole Countrey fell again into commotion on a sudden, and arms were again taken up on all sides, and the Forrein Forces which were already dismiss by the King returning speedily from *Italy*, the battell of *Geblurs*, neer unto *Namures* not long after ensued, where *Don John* with little more then a thousand Foot and a thousand Horse (whilst the rest of his Forces, were hastning to the place of Battell) did miraculously defeat the *Dutch Army* which consisted of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, yet did not *Orange* for all this desist from pursuing his designs: he was already seated in place of supream authority by the rebels by whom with unwonted demonstrations of honour he was in a triumphant manner received first in *Antwerp*, and then in *Brussels*. *Orange* after this defeat, had recourse to his subtlest stratagems; *Germany*, *England* and *France*, being much affrighted by the *Spanish Forces*, he drew down a great Army from *Germany*, led on by *John Cassimer* Palatin, wherein the Queen of *England* assisted with great sums of money, and made many French Forces move under the Duke of *Alasonne*, who was brother to the King of *France*, and whom the Rebels received under the title of their Protector; and that unwonted Novelties might not be wanting in this Insurrection, the Archduke *Matthias*, Nephew to the King of *Spain*, was privily come a little before from *Vienna*, moved thereunto by a youthfull spirit of ambition, by the meer authority of the rebels, and of the Prince of *Orange*, who was assigned unto him for his Lievtenant; he had taken upon him the Title of Governor for the King, of the Provinces of *Flanders*, and was prepared to lead on the Enemies Forces against *Don John*, who was indeed the true Governor. This mean while *Don John* had got into a very great strength near unto *Mamures*, resolving to dissolve this cloud of Forces which overhung him on all sides, and thus to get the greater glory by getting the victory without fighting; as happily fell out not long after; but he died first, and so was too soon bereaft of the fruit of the first victory already gotten, and of this second so well ordered. *Don John* dyed of a few days sickness, not without suspicion of being poysoned. He was a Prince worthy to have lived longer, and to have longer tryed whether he could with his sword have cut off the *Hydraes* head of the rebellion of *Flanders*, which after became invincible.

The Rebels Forces disbanding soon after for want of pay, *Cassimers* Forces returned to *Germany*, and another thing happ'nd afterwards much to the advantage of the Kings affairs: which was, that the *Wallonne* Provinces, when they had discovered the Prince of *Orange* his perfidious ends, and those of the rest of the Rebels, which were, totally to withdraw themselves from the obedience of the King of *Spain*, and of the Catholick Church, they framed a faction apart (whereat the Prince of *Orange* stormed, and did in vain indeavour to hinder it) under the name of Malecontents, whereby they signified that they were but ill satisfied, yet would not be Rebels, either to the King or Church.

CHAP VII.

The Prince of Parma succeeds Don John ; the Rebels receive the Duke of Alanzonne for their new Prince : the Prince of Orange is wounded by a musquet-shot.

THis mean while the Prince of *Parma* succeeded *Don John* in the Government of *Flanders* ; who let not slip any good occasion ; but making use of the division which he found amongst the enemies themselves, and getting the better of them at first by the weapons of their own discords, he easily gained the faction of the Malecontents, and also came to agreement with the *Wallonne* Provinces : This so advantageous Treaty being so luckily succeeded, and the Prince having suddenly furnish'd himself of the valliant Catholick Forces of the Countrey, the resolution which was made with the consent of the same Provinces, of fetching back the *Spaniards*, and other Forreiners, which the Prince in order to the agreement was inforced to send the second time out of the Country succeeded likewise fortunately. He had at the same time valiantly besieged and taken the City of *Mastrick*, whereby he secured himself of the pass from *Germany*, and the mean time was ordering an Army for other enterprises ; at this time likewise a new Negotiation of peace was in Treaty in *Cullen*, wherein the Popes Nuntio, some Imperial Ambassadors of the Prince of *Castilevetrano*, on the King of *Spain*s behalf, and some Deputies in the name of those Provinces which joyned in the Insurrection, did intervene ; some tollerable composition of the affairs in *Flanders* was desired in *Spain*, regard being always had to the Catholick Religion and to the Regall Authority ; but all their diligence proved at last vain : so many were the difficulties which were met withall in the Treaty, and so inextricable had the Prince of *Orange* made them by his usuall cunning.

An. 1578.

The Treaty at *Cullen* proving vain, the King thought he could now no longer forbear the last demonstration of his just anger against the Prince of *Orange* ; he proclaimed him to be guilty of high Treason, the Head and Author of the rebellion in the Low Countreys, the publick bane and chief Author of all the Evils ; the Prince of *Orange* hereat incensed, flew presently to desperat Councils ; and laying aside the first pretended colour of the War which was that they fought not against the King, but against the pride and tyranny of the *Spaniards*, as he and those that sided with him termed it, he began barefac'd to deny obedience to the King, and easily induced his followers to do the like, and to provide themselves of a new Prince. The Duke of *Alanzon* was thought the fittest of all others for this purpose, out of hopes that they might ingage the King of *France* in the Dukes Interest : whereupon the Duke was received into *Antwerp*, and with publick solemnity sworn Prince of the Low Countreys. *Orange* had no particular affection to the French ; but he indeavoured and hoped to keep up the Rebellion of *Flanders* by means of the French Forces, and to handle the business so, as the Dutch growing at last weary of the French, and despairing of ever being pardoned by the Spaniard, they might come to frame a Free Government, whereof he might be the Moderator and Arbitror : in which variety of successes, if more

favor'd by Fortune, he could not get to bee made absolute Prince of all the Revolted Provinces, he hoped that he might yet prove to be so in Holland and in Zealand; two strong and powerfull Provinces, infected with Heresie already, and which now acknowledged no other Authority then his. These were the ends to which it was thought Orange his blind Ambition did tend; the joyfull presages of *Alanzonne* the new Prince did this mean while forbode no good to his hopes; for at the same time a bold Bischayard came to him, and within his own House discharged a Musquet at his head. He was cured of this wound, but this foretold another of the like sort, which not long after was the occasion of his death.

CHAP. VIII.

The Rebels are brought into great straits. Alanzonne withdraws into France, and soon after the Pr. of Orange is slain.

An. 1582.

THis mean while the Affairs of the Rebels grew worse and worse, & those on the Kings behalf went on still prosperously. The Arch-Duke *Matthias* had lost all his hopes a good while before; so as hee was forced to return into Germany with no great Reputation. *Alanzon* was likewise weary of the Dutch, and the Dutch of him: Neither could the Duke bear with the indignity of the Conditions, whereby he became rather to receive Lawes, then to give them in such form of Government as was prescribed him; nor yet could the Dutch tolerate that the French aydes should correspond so badly with the promises made by the Duke. The Duke was the first that began to stir; Hee endeavoured to take Antwerp by force, and to establish his Principality by Arms: Som of his People had already entred the City, and began to pillage it; but the People betaking themselves to their Armes, the French were presently driven out with no lesse slaughter then dishonor: Nor was it possible, for all that the Prince of *Orange* could do, (who thought the present alteration not yet ripe enough for his ends) that the Dutch could be brought to forgoe the ill will which they had conceived against the French; so as ere long the Duke was necessitated to return for France, without any reputation or hope, and his people abased and but ill treated.

The Prince of *Orange* after these affairs had shut himself up in Holland, with his mind wholly bent to find out some fuel wherby to keep alive the fire of Rebellion, which was already so well kindled; when at once the blow came, which cut both his Designs and his Life short. He that wounded him was a Burgonian, and the wound was given by a Pistoll, which he desperately discharged at his Head. This hapned at *Delfe*, where the Prince of *Orange* then was, who dyed almost presently upon it, not being able to speak a word. This was the end of *William of Nassaw* Prince of *Orange*, in the 52. year of his Age. A man who without doubt might have been numbred amongst the famousst of our Times, if resting contented with his own so considerable Fortune, he had not by violence and illegall meanes endeavoured to raise himself to a greater. He dyed reputed an Heretick; and which is more, not thought to have any Religion at all in him. Hee profest Liberty of Religion and Government, that he might the better invegle the People, and under the name of Liberty oppress it the more; Those that

that sided most with him, were the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*; and his chiefest Authority lay in those two Provinces; which was so great, as he appeared rather to be Prince thereof then Governour; and 'twas said, that they had resolved to choose him for their Prince.

CHAP. IX.

The Rebels continue in their first Obstinacy; The Duke of PARMA dyes.

THe Rebels were astonished and much confused by the Prince of *Orange* his death; and 'twas thought then that the whole Fabrick of Rebellion would fall to the Ground, the Architecture fayling; but the foundations thereof were already too deeply laid: which that they might be the more firm and stable, there wanted not Princes, who jealous of the too near Neighborhood of the Spaniard, brought such materials as were needfull. The pertenacity of the Rebels encreasing thus, rather then diminishing by the Prince of *Orange*'s death, they were so far from listning to any thing that might tend to a reconciliation, as they resolved to continue the War even to the last Gasp, rather then ever to return to be under the command of Spain. The first thing they did after the Prince of *Orange* his death, was to honour his memory with solemn Pomp and Obsequies. And presently substituted Count *Maurice*, his Son, in his Fathers Honors and Titles, beleaving firmly that hee would prove true Heir and Successor to his Father, as well in his affection to them, as in his hatred to the Crown of Spain. Prince *Maurice* was then a Youth of Sixteen years old; and therefore Count *Hollack* was given unto him for his Lieutenant in the War: who afterwards by marrying a Sister of his, became his Brother-in-Law.

The King of Spains Forces were this mean while Victorious in all places: *Tornay*, *Odenard*, *Tpre*, *Dunkerke*, *Newport*, and many other Towns of importance in Flanders and other parts, were recovered by the Prince of *Parma*; the City of *Groninghen*, and many other Towns towards Friesland were already returned to the Kings obedience; and the Catholick Forces had made good progress on all sides. Only *Antwerp* made resistance, & did a little retard them: but the difficulty of the siege of *Antwerp* made for the Prince his Glory, since the greater the Obstacles were which he met withall in managing the siege, his valor appeared to be the greater in reducing it at the last. He master'd the River of *Schelde* with his famous *Stecata*: Hee with great Military worth, hindred Relief from being brought to the Town by any other way; and frustrated the mighty Machines of a great Ship, and certain Boats with Fire-workes, which with an ill Omen they termed, The Wars end, for they made no long Resistance afterwards. This memorable Siege lasted almost a whole year. By reason of the danger that *Antwerp* was in; *Gauwt*, *Bruges* and *Malines*, were already fallen into the Prince his hands; so as the Rebels were never in so bad a Condition as then; nor the Kings Affairs in greater Reputation.

The Rebels were afterwards reinheartned by the Queen of *Englands* protection, who craftily endeavouring to oppress those her neighbors, which she boasted to assist as oppressed, sent the Earl of

Lester

Lester over with a whole Army to assist them, and wrought her self into their Government and Towns, whereof some in the most important situations of *Holland* and *Zealand* were delivered up unto her as cautionary. Her daring increased together with her ambition, upon the unhappie success which befell a Fleet at Sea, which the King of *Spain* had sent against her Kingdom; but the Dutch Rebels began quickly to be weary of the English yoke; and it was not long till being glutted and grown jealous of *Lester* and his Government, they took from him the manning of those Arms, and forced him to return to *England*, to the Queens no little indignation.

Count *Mauris* was this mean while increased in years, and together with his years the opinion of his valour increased; so as the whole care of the War was committed to him: *Mauris* from that time began to grow famous in the Military profession. He with great celebrity won almost the whole Country which the Spaniards possessed beyond the *Rheine*; from whence 'twas always easier then from any other part, to penetrate even into the very bowels of the Enemies, more particularly in *Holland*, the chief seat of their Rebellion. Thus the Spaniards, whilst they busie themselves too much in the Civil wars of *France*, receive these important losses in their own Provinces of *Flanders*. The Duke of *Parma* (for so he was now become by reason of his Fathers death) resisted as much as he could) his going into *France*; but he must obey the Kings Orders, which were sent unto him too positively from *Spain*: In the first passage the Duke reliev'd *Paris*, and in the second *Roan*, in both which succours he won great Fame; and whilst he prepared to return a third time into *France*, he died at *Arras*: He was indeed so valiant, and so cry'd-up a Commander, as through him chiefly the Forces of our times may pass for glorious, and by his means vie with the famous of any other age.

CHAP. X.

Three Governors succeed in the space of three years in the Government of Flanders, to wit, Count Mansfelt, the Arch-Duke Ernestus, and Count Fuentes.

THE Duke of *Parma* being dead, the Government remained in Count *Peter Ernestus Mansfelt*; he had exercised the place in the Dukes two first goings into *France*, and held it one year after, chiefly by the Authority and Council of Count *Fuentes*, who upon the Dukes death was come from *Spain* into *Flanders*; but the Government remained not long in him: The Kings affairs suffered then great prejudice, many of his Soldiers mutenied, forgoing all obedience and respect to their Commanders and discipline, remained so corrupted, as continual mutinies did insue almost always afterwards in the Army, to the Kings so great damage, as he was oftentimes more harm'd by his own Forces, then by his Enemies. Hereupon Count *Mauris* took occasion to besiege *Saint Guringberg*, and begirt it with so strong fortifications, as the King lost all hopes of driving him from thence, or of relieving the besieged.

The Government which provisionally was exercised by Count *Mansfelt*,

Mansfelt was afterward confirm'd absolutely in the Archduke *Ernestus*, who whilst he thought rather to remedie the disorders he found in the Kings affairs, then to gain upon the enemy, died before the first year of his Government was fully ended: in which time *Mauris* continuing his advancing, took the City of *Groninghen*, and did thereby the better establish what he had wonn beyond the *Rheine*. Another part of the Catholick Army did then again muteny, and the Kings Souldiers from being the chastisers of Rebels becoming as it were Rebels themselves; they were not ashamed to maintain their muteny even with the borders of the Enemy, till such time as they were largely pay'd.

Hereupon Count *Fuentes* took the Government into his hands, and valour and succels seemed in him to be at strife; he turned the Kings Forces towards *France*, the better to secure that Frontier: he valiantly routed the French in the battel at *Dorlan*, and soon after took *Cambrey* by siege; driving out *Balignye* a French man, who of Governor had made himself Master of the City.

CHAP. XI.

The Government passeth into the hands of the Cardinal Archduke Albertus, who marrying the King of Spains daughter, goes into Spain. Cardinall Andrea of Austria remains in his Place.

THE Cardinall Archduke *Albertus* was this mean while come from Spain, to take upon him the Government of the Low Countreys, and the fame of the great Forces which he brought with him from Spain and Italy, brought terror into Flanders before they arived there themselves: He came Governor and Prince of the Low Countreys; Governor, if subduing the Rebels, he should again reduce them in obedience to the Crown of Spain: and Prince, if this succels proving desperat, it were requisit to seperat Flanders from that Crown, and put it under a Prince apart, who by inhabiting there, and by giving the People a Dutch discent, might the easlyer by fair means re-unite those Provinces, and reduce them to a conformable obedience; but this at that time was kept privat amongst the Arcana Regia.

An. 1569.

The War grew now hot between the Kings of France and Spain; and the French Forces were chiefly turned against Flanders; so as at the Cardinals arivall he was necessitated to carry his Forces towards *Picardy*, wherein he had great good succels; for he presently took two places of great importance; *Callis* and *Ards*, almost underneath the King of France his nose, neither did his progress end here. He suddenly after turn'd his Arms upon the Dutch Rebels, and took from them the Town of *Hulst*, a very strong place in Flanders; the next year, *Amiens* the Prime City of all *Picardy* was taken by the Spaniards, who whilst they indeavour in vain to keep it, and turn their Forces upon France, Count *Mauris* makes great progress in Flanders, he took *Reimburg*, and made himself Master of that so convenient Pass upon the *Rheine*; then marching with his Army in all diligence towards *Friesland* he suddenly sate down before *Groll*, and took it, together

gether with Oldensall, and Linghen, and put the Rebels in possession of the whole Country on that side the Rheine.

The separation of the Low Countreys from the Crown of Spain was already published, by the marriage established by the King between the Archduke *Albertus*, and the *Infanta Iffabella*, his eldest daughter; to which daughter of his he gave the Low Countreys for her portion; which the King was at last resolved to do, when he found the resistance of the Rebels in Flanders to grow every day greater and greater: here-upon the Archduke being become the Kings son in Law, and having so great a portion given him, began to buckle the closer to a peace which was then in Treaty in Flanders with the King of France; hoping by the friendship of so powerfull a neighborhood, the easlyer to reduce the Rebels to his obedience; and the desired peace ensued. The Archduke parting from thence to bring the Infanta from Spain, heard the newes of his Father in Laws death before he saw his wife.

Cardinall *Andrea* of *Austria* remained in this intrim Governor of Flanders, and the Admiral of Arragon had the chief command in War. The Spanish Forces were never greater in Flanders then they were at this time, but it availed them but little; they only recovered Remburg, and on the contrary, the disorders of the Kings Army grew to be so great by being made to winter by violence and rapine upon divers newtrall Countreys about the Rheine, as all that part of Germany grew into great indignation, even to the taking up of Arms. Cardinall *Andrea* ended his Government, having undertaken two things; the one in vain, which was the indeavouring to take Bomale, together with all that Island between the Vahall and the Maufe, and the other wherein he succeeded, which was the making of a great Fort, which by his name was called the Fort of Saint Adrea, in an opportune place on the lower part of the Island, whereby he might the easlyer enjoy the passage and other commodities of that River.

CHAP. XII.

The two new Princes come into Flanders; The Archduke is routed, and wounded at Newport.

An. 1599.

IN this interim the two new Princes were arrived in Flanders, and had drawn upon them the eyes of all Europe, which stood expecting how they should be received, and what face their new Principality would put on. They were received with much applause and great expressions of joy by the obedient Provinces; but the rebellious appeared more pertenantious then ever, they prepared with all their might for War; giving out, that the Spaniards by an issueless marriage, did craftily lay bates to make them return to the yoke of Spain; and that the Archduke begirt with Spanish Council and Forces, had nothing of Governor in him, more then the appearing Title of a Prince; they were already come to the number of the Seaven Provinces which was spoken of at the beginning, and had a good while before taken upon them the Title of the United Provinces, they therefore utterly refused all mention of peace; even the very indeavours of those Ambassadors which were sent to that purpose first from the obedient Provinces, and then from the Emperor.

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The Treaty of peace which began at this time to be handled between the King of *Spain's* Ministers of State; and those of the Archdukes on the one side (this was the Title which the two new Princes had taken in common) with those of the Queen of *England* on the other side, proved likewise vain; and many other difficulties were hereunto added, which forebode an ill augury to the new Principality of the Archdukes. Great scarcity of money; new mutenies amongst the Soldiers; very great dearth in the Countrey; and for hight of indignity, an infamous treachery committed by the Garison of the Fort of *St Andrea*, who sold that place unto the Rebels; neither was it long after that the Archduke received a rout at the battel of *Newport*; which was caused as well by the rashness of his Commanders, as by the valour of the Enemy. *Maurice* had landed his Army upon the seacoast of *Flanders*, and had suffered it to advance too far into the Archdukes Countrey under vain hopes of getting; so as he could not keep on land for want of victuals; but was inforced to retreat in great confusion by sea. The Archdukes Commanders impatient to expect this secure oportunity of imbarcking, set upon the Enemies in their own Quarters, and precipitated themselves into the Rout which they received; wherein the Archduke was wounded and well nigh taken: It was then seen, as it hath been in many former conflicts, what Arm'd dispair can do; for the Rebels dispairing of ever imbarcking themselves without winning the battel, fought with incredible heat and courage; neither could *Maurice* have made better use of that occasion; causing the Ships to fall off from the land, and putting his Soldiers in excellent order; he shewed them that now they must either overcome or die; so they overcame, and that place was made famous by that memorable success.

The Archduke after this so great blow, was comforted by the fidelity which his new people shewed unto him, and with the aid which they brought him; and he suffering himself to be perswaded by their Instances prepared to besiege *Ostend*; which was the only place of all *Flanders* that remained in the Rebels power, and which till then was held a desperat undertaking, by reason it was impossible to keep it from being reliev'd by Sea. Prince *Maurice* this mean while had again besieged and taken *Reimburg*; then carrying his siege suddenly to *Balduke* in *Brabant*, he thought thereby to divert the Archduke from besieging *Ostend*; but the enemies failing in taking of *Balduke*, having done their very utmost, and gathered together the greatest Army that they were ever Masters of, they resolved to use all possible means to make the Archduke rise from before *Ostend*.

CHAP. XIII.

Marquis Spinola brings Forces from Italy; the Army is put into his hands; and the War at last ends with a Truce for Twelve years.

THE Archdukes affairs met with very great difficulties when *Marquis Spinola* arived in *Flanders* with a strength of 8000 *Italian* foot. This succour kept the Enemies from bringing their Army to raise the
F siege

An. 1602.

siege of *Ostend*, and kept off the most important losses wherewith the Archdukes were threatned, but it was not sufficient to withstand them all; for Prince *Maurice* besieged and took *Graves*, one of the most considerable places in all *Brabant*. This mean while the siege of *Ostend* continued: and Frederick *Spinola*, brother to the Marquiss, had in a manner besieged it by Sea, with a Squadron of Gallies brought from *Spain*, whereby the Enemies would not have been a little indammaged, had not Frederick whilst he fought valiantly in a bickering at Sea been so soon slain. The siege at *Ostend* had already continued so long as the besiegers began to despair of ever taking it; the scituation of the place, the cunning and courage of the besieged had made that place be generally held impregnable, when the undertaking was assigned over to the Marquiss *Spinola*, he fully satisfied expectation, his diligence was such, and so much did he despise all dangers, as the besiegers at last found themselves necessitated to yeild; for they wanted ground within, though never succour without; the Town was surrendred after three years siege; and certainly it was one of the most famous sieges that hath been heard of at any time, and the Town was as stoutly and gallantly defended; by *Spinola's* egregious actions in this succels, 'twas seen what might be expected from him hereafter in greater enterprises.

Prince *Maurice* was not idle this mean while, he had again besieged *Balduke*, and not able to compass that designe, he afterwards besieged *Sluce* in *Flanders*, intending either to raise the siege of *Ostend* by this neerer diversion, or to counterpoise the loss of that place by taking of the other; he failed in the first, but very luckely obtained the other, which was a business of very great importance; for the scituation, strength, and every other considerable circumstance of *Ostend* were paralleld in *Sluce*; which was taken within a few days, and without the loss of any blood; whereas the taking of *Ostend* cost so much time, so much money, and so much blood: here ended the Enemies proceedings till the Truce; which was afterwards agreed upon: all that was gotten in the interim was on the Catholicks behalf. The Command of the Army being given to Marquiss *Spinola*, together with the charge of Camp-Master-Generall of the Army, he carried it home into the Enemies Countrey, having first taken the Pass upon the *Rheine*, together with two Forts, the one on the one side, the other on the other side thereof, he took *Oldensell*, *Linghen*, and *Groll* in *Friesland*, and made the passage upon the *Rheine* the better, by the recovery of *Reinburg*: passing suddenly from thence to the relief of *Groll* which was besieged by Prince *Maurice*, he wonn it, as it may be said, a second time, and more gloriously then at first, causing *Maurice* shamefully to retreat, and before his retreat to refuse the battel which he offered him.

Spinola had proposed unto himself things far beyond this: he hoped to have entred farther into the Enemies Countrey, and passing over rivers to make himself Master of *Utrecht*; a City of great consequence, and there to plant the War in the very Gates of *Holland*, and in the bowels of the Enemy; but the natural strength of their scituations, a new muteny which happ'ned in the Army, and an infinit number of other difficulties hindred him from making further advancements, and at last instructed him better how weighty a business it was to go about to quell the Rebellion of *Flanders* by force, wherefore 'twas better to think how the differences might be agreed by Peace.

Peace. The Enemies were already grown to bold, as they had many years before carried the War by Sea (where they were strongest) home even to the very doors of the *Spaniards*. They had infested the coasts of *Spain*, and had wrought themselves by sundry navigations into the East Indies, and were plotting to do the like in the West Indies: so as the damage which the Crown of *Spain* received in the former, was so great, and what they had reason to apprehend in the other of so great consideration, as they did necessarily require some remedie, which was, that by compounding the affairs of *Flanders*; the affairs of the Indies might likewise be compounded: Peace was therefore again indeavoured, but proved at first but in vain; and at last after a very long Treaty, and wherein mighty difficulties were met withall, a Truce of twelve years was concluded between them. The Enemies would never give way to any commencement of the business, which was at first had by a suspension of Arms, neither would they confirm the conclusion of the Truce which ensued, till it were declared in the very first place, that the suspension was at first had, and the Truce at last concluded with them, as with people of free Provinces, to the which neither the King of *Spain*, nor yet the Archdukes had any pretence at all: and this was the first Article of the Agreement: the chiefest of the others were, That during the Truce all manner of hostility should cease on each side: That this mean while, each of the Parties should peacefully enjoy what they did at the present possess: That in this interim no new Fortifications should be made by either side: That Commerce might be free throughout the whole Countrey as it was before the War: That it might be free to Traffick every where, save that out of *Europe* the Inhabitants of the United Provinces were not to negotiat in Countreys belonging to the Crown of *Spain*. By which words, without nominating the Indies, 'twas pretended that their People should be excluded from those parts of the Indies which were subject to the King of *Spain*. These were the most essentiall Articles; to boot with many others concerning matters of Justice, and the restitution of Goods.

An. 1607.

An. 1609.

Thus was the Truce concluded, and thus was the War of *Flanders* which could not be wholly extinguished, husht for a while.

A War so long and full of so many and so famous accidents, as thereby, beyond all others of our times, the memory of our age will be innobled to Posterity; and it may be truly said, that *Flanders* in this present age hath been as a Military Scene in *Europe*, which for forty years together, till the conclusion of the Truce, hath exposed to the Theater of the Universe all the Novelties, and most memorable spectacles which were ever seen in any preceding War, or shall ever be seen in any that shall insue.

THE
RELATION
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF
FLANDERS.

Made by Cardinall BENTIVOGLIO.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Discourse upon the Person of Count Maurice.

NOW to return to where I left off, in the beginning of the last Book; Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, governs the Forces of the United Provinces by Sea and Land; and having had the Command thereof with so much reputation in the time of War, he exerciseth the same authority now in the time of Truce; and doubtlesly he deserves the Fame which he hath wonn of being one of the greatest Commanders of this our present age. He is Master of the Military profession, no less by Art, then by experience: he is especially well versed in the Mathematiques, which he hath particularly studied, and keeps always some one with him who is very skilfull in this Science. He is chiefly esteem'd in two parts of the Militia; in training of men, and in Fortification: in all his Sieges his Fortifications have commonly proved impregnable: and to him is chiefly attributed the Introducing of those in our times which are used without the Trenches, whereby places are now a days much longer defended then they were in former times: As for Training, he is likewise very good thereat, and hath always kept that Art in practice: yea now that there is no War, he often makes all the neighboring Garrisons be drawn forth together before the *Hague*, and he himself forms them into several bodies, to exercise the Soldiers; and hath caused the same exercise to be used once every week in all the Garrisons of the United Provinces.

What Count *Maurice* his undertakings have been may be gathered by the short narration which hath been made. In some, to say the truth, it hath been wisht that he had been more forward and willing to fight; and their number is not few, who more freely have given him the name of irresolute, and fearfull: they have said that it was meerly inevitable necessity which made him joyn battell with the Archduke at *Newport*; that not to hazard himself in a fight, he did not relieve *Reinburg*, as he easily might have done, when Marquis *Spinola* besieged it; and that his fear was apparent when he rose from before *Groll*, shunning

shunning to encounter the same *Spinola*, whose Forces were far inferior to his. 'Tis certain, that *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, who was always a severe censuror of the Military actions of *Flanders*, spoke not much honorably of Count *Maurice*, for not having reliev'd *Reinburg*, and for rising from before *Groll*, and he would often say, that the said Count was not to be called a great Soldier because he used to fight only amongst dikes and rivers, not ever endeavouring an Incounter in open field: but men do so differ in their judgements, as some blame those actions which others account praiseworthy; and there is nothing more usuall then to hear the greatest Commanders termed fearful, instead of being esteemed wary: remiss instead of circumspect; and but bad mean soldiers, instead of skilfull in matters of War; consideration ought also to be had, who makes the War, where it is made, and who maintains it; according to which considerations it must be confest, that no man could have been found out fitter then Count *Maurice* for the affairs of the United Provinces, more corresponding with the condition of their people and Countreys. By his so cautious Governing their War so long, and by his making so good use of their banks, rivers, and other advantages of nature, he hath withstood the Torrents of so many Nations, who have falne down into *Flanders* to fight in the behalf of the Crown of *Spain*; he hath consumed the inexhaustable gold of their Indies; he hath made use of the so many mutinies amongst the *Spaniards*; and by his safe and circumspect waging of War, he hath at last procured a Truce to the United Provinces, which hath turn'd to their great advantage and establishment. But say he had shewed himself more ready to have falne upon more hazardous and generous resolutions; it was not in his power to do so. He had always in his Army with him some Deputies who represented the Union of the Provinces; which Union having always held as one of the most important maxims of Government, to make use of well digested and wary Councils, the said Deputies upon all occasions, left more Authority in Count *Maurice* to execute, then to resolve upon their undertakings; and out of this reason he hath chiefly justified himself, when by any of his Military Actions he hath incurr'd the spoken of imputation. But on the other side it cannot be deny'd that together with his own valour, Count *Maurice* had great good fortune, in his gaining so great a reputation in War, he govern'd an Army which was well paid, and well provided of all things; always befriended by rivers and banks; and he never had any muteny in his Army, nor any of those competitions or brawles betwixt Nation and Nation, which so often happ'ned in the Catholick Camp; and especially between the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, to the great prejudice of their undertakings: so as amongst other advantages he hath always had the Reines of Discipline free in his hands, without which an Army is nothing else then a wood of weapons full of all disorder. To what hath been touched concerning Count *Maurice* his backwardness, it may be added that his slowness and remissness in actions of these present times may appear to be the greater, by how much the like of *Marquis Spinola* have been the more quick and resolute: and truly to weigh well the proceedings of the one and the other of them in Military affairs, you would say that *Maurice* had been one of *Fabius* his Schollars, and *Spinola* one of *Cesars*. The one having almost ever

shun'd,

thun'd, and the other ever sought after fighting; the one shewing himself to be a delayer, not only by nature, but by chusing his advantage; and the other wholly intent through courage and forwardness, to make the events on his side advantageous.

CHAP. II.

Divers other particulars concerning Count Maurice his Person are touched upon.

PRince *Maurice* his reputation is very great (as hath been said) in the United Provinces; yet without all doubt 'twas greater during the time of War, then it is now that weapons are laid down; he used all the means he might at first to hinder all ways of coming to an accommodation, and afterwards that no resolution might be taken of Peace, or Truce: but he could never keep the Treaty off, nor hinder that either by the one or the other way weapons might be laid aside. By the present Government, the other chief Heads for the managing of Civil affairs took Authority upon them; and having since kept it, and still the more establish'd it, since the Truce, the Authority of Arms hath been weakned and lessened through idleness: the chiefest and most esteem'd of these at the present is *John Barneveldt*, Advocat of *Holland*, and the usuall Deputie of the same Province in the Councill of the States General of the whole Union; *Barneveldt* was he who assisted chiefly in the negotiation of Truce; and by him Count *Maurice* was then counterpoised, as he still is; his experience being great in Publick Affairs, and the practice and Authority which he hath particularly got in that Government very great.

Count *Maurice*, to boot with his superintendency of Arms, is also the chief Head in the Civil Government of the United Provinces: being the Governor of four Provinces, as hath been said; and Count *William* the Governor of *Friesland* and *Groninghen*, as also *Ernestus* Governor of *Ghelderland*, having dependancy on him, as General of the Armies. Count *William*, Count *Ernestus*, Count *Henry*, and Count *John*, all of them of the house of *Nassaw*, are now in the service of the United Provinces: The first two are Cousins, the third brother, and the last also kinsman to Count *Maurice*: Count *William* hath always held the principal place in the Army next to Count *Maurice*; a Gentleman of great experience and valour, and hath supply'd the place of Lievtenant General of the Army. Count *Ernestus* is Camp-Master-Generall, and is esteem'd likewise a man of great Valour, and capable if occasion should require, of Governing the whole Army. Count *Henry* is *Maurice* his brother by the Fathers side; he is General of the Horse; and though he be but a young man of 26 years of age, he hath given Good tryall of himself in all occasions of War which have been presented. Count *John* is a bare Captain of Horse, Count *Maurice* is the head of all those of *Nassaw*; neither can it be said how great the respect is which they bear, and reverence which they use unto him; All of them receive great pay from the United Provinces. Count *Maurice* in respect of so many Offices, may be thought to receive about two hundred thousand florins yearly, which comes to twenty thousand pound sterling; wherein is to be comprehended 25000 florins,

rins, amounting to 2500 pound, which the Provinces since the Truce have given by way of remuneration to him and his heirs for ever. Count *William* receives four thousand pound sterling yearly, Count *Ernestus* three thousand; Count *Henry* as much; and Count *John* the ordinary pay of a Captain of Horse.

Count *Maurice* resides for the most part in the *Hague* in *Holland*; and lives in the same Palace, wherein the Councils of the States General of the United Provinces do meet: very great is the obsequie which the whole People shew unto him: and for outward shew, you would rather take him to be the Prince of those Provinces, then Head of their Military and Civil Government. He keeps great correspondency with the neighbouring Kings, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; and is greatly esteem'd and honour'd in all those parts; but even to the remotest parts of the Indies, and into all those Southern and Eastern Countreys is his fame carried, by the Navigation of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, who have often shewn his Picture, as victorious at *Newport*, magnifying at once the renown of their Commander, and the fame of their own Commonwealth.

Count *Maurice* is very rich; he is said to have great store of money, and that he hath above a million of Gold in ready Cash; which is not much to be wondred at; he having always received very great pay from the United Provinces, and gotten notable emoluments, as well by means of so many places which he took during the War, as by the so much gain which the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* have wonn by their Navigation at Sea: he hath shared deep in their acquisitions by Land as General of their Army, and of their gettings by Sea, as being their chief Admiral. He is Lord of *Flushing* and of *Ferwert* in *Zealand*, and of *Graves* in *Brabant*, good and considerable Towns; and of other places of less importancy: He is now about 45 years old; he hath no wife, nor seem'd he yet to have ever any inclination to marry. His chief kindred are the Prince Elector Palatine in *Germany*, and the Duke of *Bullion* in *France*. The first is the son of a sister of his by the Fathers side, and the other husband to another sister of his by the Fathers side also.

It is doubted by many whether Count *Maurice* did ever aspire to make himself Prince of the United Provinces or not. On the one side, the love and reverence which the People bore to his Father; the occasion of a new and unstable Government; his so long command over their Armies, and that, with so great Authority, and his Props from without, have made it be often believed that he was not content to rest in his present limited Fortune. On the other side, the United Provinces being so continually well satisfied with his Government; his way of demeaning himself, which was not after a popular fashion, as was his Fathers, but rather Stately and proud; and his indeavour rather to lay up, then to spend money, fearing that forrein Princes might peradventure not be well pleased that the United Provinces should return to be governed by one man only, are considerations which have made it be believed that he had no minde to provoke Fortune, nor to approach near those precipices which usually border upon so immoderate desires. Perhaps he with more secret wisdom, did expect those conjunctures of time, which either did not afterwards insue, or are already past. The United Provinces do e-

very

very day better the grounds of their Government, and love Liberty too well; which after so long agitation, and so many Tempests, is at last brought home into their havens: Peace now rules; all noise of War is at an end; and the Authority of other Chiefteyns will every day grow greater, upon whom the chief administration of publick Affairs is to depend, and it may be believ'd that they will never see the Authority of any one man grow too high.

CHAP. III.

What the greatest enmities of the United Provinces be.

BY what hath been said it may easily be comprehended what the greatest Friendships be, and what the greatest enmities of the United Provinces with forrein Princes; but I will treat more particularly hereof as in its proper place. Their Enmity will certainly be always greatest with the Pope, and King of *Spain*, both which they have so highly offended: their double rebellion did at first arise against these two Princes, and hath indammaged them the most; by depriving the Catholick Church of its ancient Patrimony of so many of the Faithfull; and the King of *Spain* of those Dominions which do belong by so just a Title to the House of *Austria*. Therefore they will always by all possible means that they can, endeavour to beat down the Catholick Religion both within, and without their Territories: To the which though they be much moved by the meer licentiousness of Heresie, yet will the consideration of the so much more appugning the King of *Spains* cause, incite them the more thereunto. At the beginning of the Rebellion they imbraced Heresie, to alienate their people the more from the *Spaniards*, and that they might the better form a Government, which even in the point of Religion might be directly opposite to that of the Crown of *Spain*; so as they will seek to establish their present Form by Heresie; and by this tye, to fasten better the forrein Intelligence which they hold with all the Enemies to the Catholick Church, to boot with the means they use to those Princes which oppose the *Spanish* Power, and do indeavour to acounterpoise thereunto. 'Tis seen how many and how perverse their designs have been to introduce their Sect in other parts; they have sailed even to the Indies, and by their Traffick have infected those parts with their Heresie; and at home Calvinisme doth chiefly rule amongst them, which is the worst of all Sects, and that which above all others makes subjects revolt against their Princes: yet divers other sects are tollerated amongst them, and also many Catholicks, particularly in *Holland*; but the Catholicks are wholly debai'd the exercise of their Religion; and are likewise much oppressed in other things; not so much for being Catholicks, as for being accounted ether well disposed, or at least not so ill affected towards the *Spaniards*, as the Hereticks amongst them are. 'Tis apparent then that the United Provinces have been moved in a great part to wage and maintain War against the Catholick Church, that they might maintain it likewise more effectually by their Forces against the Crown of *Spain*. And for what remains, 'tis not to be doubted, but that by all the most pernicious ways of State that may be, they will endeavour all the prejudice they can to that Crown. Thei

Their tallent is alike evil against the Archduke *Albertus* and his wife the *Infanta Donna Isabella*, who are now Princes of the Lowcountreys; for they never made any difference between the Interest of the King of *Spain*, and that of the Archdukes, since they saw them come into *Flanders* with so little hope of issue.

'Tis no doubt that they will always shew the like aversion to the other Princes in *Germany* which are of the House of *Austria*; and that they will readily joyn upon all occasions with the rivals, or enemies of that House; as is seen in the fresh occasion of the Archduke *Leopolds* entrance into *Fuliers*; which place they had the boldness to sit down before, despising all Imperial Majesty, and all the Emperors Authority.

They have no occasion of freindship or disfreindship with the King of *Polonia*; unless it be their dislike of that Kings greatness and felicity, who is so zealous for the Catholick Faith, and so desirous to propagate it: they therefore together with the King of *England* have aided Duke *Charls* in *Swethland* against him; and certainly are not well pleas'd with those his progresles which he hath made, and daily increases in *Muscovia*: yet the opportunity of the Port of *Dantsick*, frequented by the ships of *Holland* and *Zealand*, may in some sort make the United Provinces desirous of his freindship.

CHAP. IV.

Of the freindship which the United Provinces hold; and first of that with the Crown of France.

THE greatest freindships which the United Provinces have had, and do still hold, is with *France* and *England*: they have had their chief prop and maintenance from these two Kingdoms. The Duke of *Alanson* entred, as hath been said, more then once into *Flanders* with whole Armies; and 'twas always thought that under colour of his youthfull spirit, blam'd in appearance by the Kings his Brothers, *Charls* the ninth, and *Henry* the third of *France*, he carried on in common (though secretly) both his and their ends: which were that by his means the States of *Flanders* might be severed from the Crown of *Spain*. Those designes in the behalf of *France* being at the same time as it were vanish'd, and conceiv'd, and that Kingdom being involved in so many & so long civil discords, the rebellion was for many years chiefly maintain'd by forces from *England*: and the Queen making use to her advantage, of the evils as well of her confederates the *Dutch*, as of those of the *Spaniards* her enemies; she sent the Earl of *Lester* at that time into *Holland* with an entire Army, and demanded *Flushing*, and the *Ramkins* in *Holland*, and the *Brill* in *Zealand*, which are the chief Maretine keys of both those Provinces, to be assigned over to her as cautionary Towns, and to be garisoned by the *English*.

Great were the aids which King *Henry* the fourth of *France* did continually afford to the United Provinces, when he had once compounded and quieted the affairs of his own Kingdom; and since the Queen of *Englands* death, his Authority and belief amongst them did so increase, as being chiefly perswaded and almost constrained thereunto by his indeavours, they first were induced to treat, and then to conclude the Truce with the *Spaniards*.

In this last peace of friendship of the King of *France*, they saw notwithstanding that many designs lay hid, which caused great suspicions in them. 'Twas said that the King of *France* began after the example of the King of *England* to make it be understood, that he would likewise have some Towns delivered up into his hands, in change for those moneys and aids which he furnish'd them withall for the maintenance of their War; whereupon those Provinces grew into such jealousy, as it was held for certain that this was one of the chiefest reasons which induced them to think of agreement: yet the King held always the same authority and confidence with them as before; till the last commotions of *France* falling out, after the Prince of *Condes* flight, and the King preparing to take the field with a powerfull Army, the United Provinces began to have new apprehensions of his ways. The King had Written into *Holland* to the Dowager Princess of *Orange* whose husband was slain, that upon the occasion of his Armies approach in those parts, he would come privatly to the *Hague*, where he would be her household Guest. At this newes, though sent but by the way of Jest, the United Provinces grew very apprehensive. They feared that if the King should come, he in so happy a conjuncture, would practise some designe of his own which might tend to their prejudice; and especially that he should endeavor to be chosen their Protector: A Title which might seem to taste of favour, but when narrowlier looked into, full of suspicion: so great Princes seldom using to take upon them such protections, unless it be to give Laws to those that they protect; and how could they have withstood the desires of so great a Prince in their own homes, and with so great Forces it in their Country, and upon their Frontiers? by reason of their being freed from these suspicions. it may be thought that the United Provinces were less sorry for his death, which in other respects proved a very grievous loss to them.

They do now notwithstanding receive the same signes of friendship from the Queen Regent, which they did from the King her husband: and 'tis to be believed that for the time to come, good correspondency will always be had between the Crown of *France*, and the United Provinces. The *French*, because the severing of the United Provinces from the King of *Spain*, makes so much for them; and the other that by the favour of *France* they may keep themselves still the better from the *Spanish* Empire: yet would not the *French* that the united Provinces should arrive at such a greatness of power as they aspire unto; for so the whole Low Countreys might turn into one Hereticall Commonwealth, as they lately were under one onely Catholick Prince: Their power would then doubtlesly be no less dreadful by land, then it is now by sea. But of all other their neighbours the *French* ought chiefly to apprehend this, by the boldness which would grow in their *Hugonots* in *France* by the increase of these Heretick Forces in *Flanders*. Whereupon 'tis thought, that the King of *France* was in this respect chiefly induced to be so fervent in endeavouring the Truce; that he might leave the *Spanish* Forces, and the Forces of the united Provinces so equally counterpoised in *Flanders*, as that *France* might receive no prejudice from either side: And 'tis not unknown what troubles have often befallen that Kingdom from thence. First when the Princes of the House of *Burgony* govern'd *Flanders*; and since, after that those Provinces

Provinces, with so many other Kingdoms and Dominions came under the House of *Austria*.

The late King of *France* maintained at his own cost two Brigades of Foot and 200 Horse, as hath been said: and still permitted his Subjects to fight in their service, and did moreover in time of War, yearly assist them with large sums of money. The same people keep now in their Service, and are maintained as at first at the charge of that Crown. There are many other *French* likewise under their pay: and for all things else the same confederacy is kept on both parts, as was in the time of the late King.

CHAP. V.

Of the friendship which the United Provinces hold with the King of England.

Great Friendship and Intelligence was held between the Queen of *England* and the United Provinces, as hath been said, after the death of the Duke of *Alanson*, and that the civil wars fell out in *France*, the Queen of *England* may be said to have been their only supporter. And though the jealousies were great which the United Provinces had of that Queen in the Earl of *Leisters* time, yet when they were freed of that Earls Government, their suspicions began to grow less. And the same correspondency was held on both sides as was before. The Queen furnish'd them with their best foot, the *English* having always been the best foot Soldiers of their Army: They contracted almost all the debts which they owe the Crown of *England* in the Queens time; then when being reduced to so great a want of Forces, she sent them over not only men, but moneys to pay them.

The Queens ends in fomenting the rebels of *Flanders* were chiefly two. The one, her own particular, which was, to increase the Heresy amongst her neighbours, the more to secure her own falling off from the Church of *Rome*. In the other she shared with the *French*, which was to sever the States of *Flanders* from the Crown of *Spain*, and more particularly the *Mareine* Provinces, as it fell out afterwards. And doubtless if the *Spaniards* had peacefully inloy'd the Low Countreys, both *England* and *Ireland* would have had reason to be afraid of them; lying in the midst between the *Mareine* Forces of *Spain* on the one side, and the so great and many Forces of *Flanders* on the other side.

The United Provinces had likewise two ends in their friendship with *England*; the one to be assisted in their revolt from the Crown of *Spain*, and the other to make use of the near neighbouring Heresy of *England*, the better to strengthen their new Sects, and by that means to resist the *Spaniards* the more easily: the respect of Traffick hath also made this friendship be much desired by both sides: the Commerce is very great which the City of *London* holds with *Amsterdam*, *Middleburg*, and with all the other Towns of *Holland* and *Zealand*: and the *Hollanders* likewise reap great advantage by their fishing in the *English* Seas.

The Authority and Intelligence which the Queen held with the United Provinces, was then as we have seen, very great: who was by them esteem'd a Lady of a very high spirit, and of a masculine and

warlike

warlike Government. After the Queens death, the late King of *France* his Authority increased so much amongst them, as the King of *England* was; and is yet but little esteem'd of by them; yet he even after peace made with the King of *Spain*, hath granted such men to the United Provinces as they stand in need of, as the Queen formerly did, with change only of some outward appearances for the better satisfaction of the *Spaniards*. The Governors of the United Provinces speak of this King in terms of small respect; and seeing him so addicted to hunting, and to his book, especially to such as treat of controversy; they say a privat condition would better become him then that of a Prince, and that he is fitter to be a Preacher then a King. But though they speak but meanly of his person, yet they much prize the neighbourhood and oportunity of his Kingdoms, and have still continued the same prerogative to the Embassador of *England*, which was granted in the Earl of *Leisters* time, which is, that he is to have a place and Vote in their Councell of State. They keep the same confederacy with the King of *England* as they did with the late Queen, and the same is renewed by the King with them.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Friendship which the Vnited Provinces have with other Princes.

THe King of *Denmark* and the united Provinces are good friends, which they are reciprocally invited to by the neighbourhood of their Countrey. This Vicinity is very commodious for the *Hollanders* in respect of their fishing, and building of ships, which are made out of the woods wherewith *Norway* may be said to be covered: for what remains, the united Provinces have received but little good in their occasions from *Denmark*, either in money or men. This King is Master of very large Territories, but so buried in winter and ice, as his forces are but small though his circuit be so large.

They maintain good correspondency with the Heretick Princes of *Germany*, especially with the *Calvinists*: of which the chiefeft are the Prince Elector Palatine of *Rheine*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*; as for the Service of *Brandenburg*, 'tis seen in the difference of the States of *Cleves* and *Guliers*. And the last Palatine when he died, in token of his confidence, left his sons to their Government and protection: their conformity in Sect, and more particularly in their aversion to the house of *Austria*, together with the neereness of their Countrys, hath easily wrought, and will as easily preserve friendship between them: the *German* Princes are notwithstanding for the most part not over abounding in moneys, so as the help which the United Provinces received from thence, in their late War did presently vanish. Now that they are grown so strong, they may rather assist their friends on that side, then look for any relief from them, unless it be for the raising of some men if they shall have occasion for them; as hath been seen in the behalf of *Brandenburg* at the Siege of *Guliers*; which was chiefly begun and ended by their Forces.

In *Italy*, the United Provinces have begun some Intelligence with the State of *Venice*; when the Truce was concluded they sent an extraordinary

traordinary Ambaffador to *Venice*; and received another the like from the Republick. And affairs stand yet thus between them; but 'tis to be believ'd, that through Traffick, and worldly Interest, this correspondency will grow greater.

The United Provinces have likewise now begun to introduce Traffick and friendship in the *Turks* Dominions, the *Hollanders* after the Truce, began to Traffick in *Siria*: and have since been drawn on by the good entertainment they finde amongst the *Turks*, and by their own gain, to continue Commerce in those parts: and that they may establish it the better for the good of their whole Countreys, the United Provinces have now resolved to send over one that shall be Resident at *Constantinople*.

CHAP. VII.

Whether this new Commonwealth of the United Provinces be like to last or no.

Nothing is more fallacious, then to judge of Futurety: It may not notwithstanding peradventure be displeasing to him who shall read this my Relation, if I argue here at last with as much brevity as so dubious a business may permit, whether this new Commonwealth of the United Provinces be likely to last or not. There are many considerations which make for the duration thereof. And first, what is more natural to mankind, or of more power with them then the love of Liberty? Of all Nations of the world, the Northern people of *Europe* have always seem'd most desirous thereof; and chiefly those of *Flanders*. In the time of the Emperor *Vespasian*, how famous was the antient Insurrection of the *Batavians*, which is so nobly describ'd by *Tacitus*. There was no talk of bereaving them of that Liberty which they enjoy'd: notwithstanding, thinking that they liv'd in slavery whilst they tollerated the pride and violence which the *Roman* State ministers did in various manner use in those parts, they grew to disdain, and from disdain to rebell, and from rebellion to down right war: They wanted not in those days a *Claudius Civilis*, who plaid the Prince of *Orange* his part in those troubles. By him, first his *Battavians*, and afterwards divers neighboring Countreys were incited to take up Arms, till such time as all arms and contumacy being laid aside, those people remained in their antient dependency and friendship with the *Romans*; and the *Romans* on their side withheld from all rigour and violence which might provoke them again to revolt.

The *Hollanders* that now are, (who were those antient *Batavians*) and the other United Provinces, boast that their antient Liberty and practiz'd Form of Government, discends from these. They confess that they have always had one eminent Chiefteyn, Head, or Governor, but such a one as hath been always subject to the Laws, and Sovereign Empire of the Commonwealth, which were from time to time exercised with very little difference by the Provinciall Orders. That the title of these heads were afterwards more modernly changed, but that the degree of the Commonwealth was not diminished with

with this alteration of Titles, but kept still its supream Authority, whilst *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the rest of the Provinces of the Low Countreys remained sever'd under their own peculiar Earls and Lords: That when the House of the Princes of *Burgony* came afterwards to Govern those Countreys, their Government was much altered in many things, the highborn blood and Kingly haughtiness of that House, not induring to depend upon the Laws and Commonwealth: That the Princes of the House of *Austria* did much less accommodate themselves to this moderation. That the Emperor, *Charles* the fifth, after having gotten new worlds under his Empire, and King *Philip* his son after having inherited them with the rest of so great a Monarchy, they disdained to be limited in their Commands over their Subjects: whereupon they did not only not give way that the Low Countreys should continue in their former Government, but by force, and violence alter'd their Laws, took from them their Immunities, made them so many Collonies to the Spaniard, and laid heavy yokes of Tribute, and Cittadels upon them. That from hence the antient Battavians are risen up again, and have taken up Arms against the Monarchy of *Spain*, as their forefathers did against the *Roman* Empire. That these have been no less fortunate then those others; since now they preserve the Liberty which they did enjoy, and have now recovered that which they had almost lost. *Holland* is full of the Story of these successes, as also all the other United Provinces. The desire of Liberty being then so naturall to all people, and chiefly to the people of *Flanders*, 'tis easily to be believ'd that the United Provinces will use all the means they can, to preserve themselves in their present Form of Government, and still establish this their new form of a Free Commonwealth.

To boot with the love of Liberty, the Government of the United Provinces is now so well and firmly grounded, as their Commonwealth is likely thereby to subsist along time; far distant and forc'd changes which are made from one Form of Government to another clean contrary, are usually dangerous: But the passage which the United Provinces have made from the Government which they used before the War, to that which they now enjoy after the Truce, it cannot be said that they have alter'd their past form, into another clean contrary, but that they have only alter'd it in part: their antient Laws are kept alive, and every Province and City is Govern'd almost as they were formerly; only the Prince his Sovereignty rests now in the Orders of every Province, and the Eminency of the Head, remains with the Governor of the same Province. How great then is the concord which ties and binds the United Provinces together? How great are their own Forces, and the Friendship which they hold with Forrein Princes? Concord will keep their minds well disposed, and keep off all occasions of Domestick Tumults. Their own Forces are such as may be thought sufficient to withstand such danger as may befall them from abroad; and say they were not of themselves able to do it, it may be believ'd that they would be supply'd by those very Forrein aids which have joyned with them in the whole course of the last War.

By these reasons which have been alledged, it may then be conjectur'd, that this new Commonwealth is likely every day to grow
more

more solid, and better established, to be of long subsistence, yea that with time it continually grow the greater and more powerfull, like that of the *Switzers*: and how great is the conformity between these? The *Switzers* revolted at first with very small Forces: They were inflam'd with the love of Liberty; the mountainous scituations fought for them till such time as the other more potent Cantons, joyning with the former which were weaker: and at last their Commonwealth came to be so establish'd, as it is not only become durable, but even formidable upon many occasions to divers Princes. Just so the Insurrection of the United Provinces had its rise from the two Provinces of *Holland* and of *Zealand* only; the people were thereunto provoked by the love of Liberty, by the advantage of the sea, rivers, and other weapons of nature, they made their chiefest resistance at first: afterwards their affairs went on more prosperously by the joyning of other Provinces, and the assistance of neighbouring Princes: till at last this their new power is come to that pass, as that they may be said to give the Law to others at sea, and not to be likely to receive it from others by land: there Government is also like that of the *Switzers*. Though this be rather better then the other by being more uniform, and by the easier joyning of the particular Members of every Province, with the whole body of the General Union.

But on the other side, many reasons may be alledged why this new Commonwealth should not be durable. First, for what concerns the love of Liberty; in lieu thereof we see that the benefit which people receive by obedience, is succeeded; who from time to time have submitted themselves almost every where to the Empire of some one. 'Tis true, at first all Kings were Heads of the people, and not Kings; of Commonwealths and not of Kingdoms. But afterwards Custom hath so prevailed, as people have been disposed and accustomed to the habit of intire obedience: just as a plant, or humane body we see are accustomed to live in other earth, and under other Climats, which differ from their own natural ones. Who would now perswade themselves, that the leaning toward Liberty could be of force enough to move a desire in the people of *Spain*, *France*, and other parts, of returning to their ancient Forms of their former more free Governments, whereof they have not only lost the desire, but even the memory. It cannot be denied notwithstanding, but that in the more Northern parts of *Europe*, there are yet freer Forms of Government. The King of *England* cannot do many things without his Parliament; nor the Princes of the Low Countreys, without the consent of the Provinces which are under them. The King of *Denmarks* power is yet more limited; so is the King of *Polands*; and the Princes of *Germanies* Authority is much restrained: But it must be granted that the Authority of the Supream Head in all these Governments hath ever been, and still is very great: Wherein the peoples obedience to their Prince is so ancient, as they can endure no other Government then that of one alone. It may then also be imagined, that the United Provinces must necessarily incline, out of their habit of antient obedience, to suffer themselves to be Govern'd by some one only man; but in that Form of Government notwithstanding which they were wont formerly to enjoy, and which may correspond with their antient institutions and Customs. To which Form when those Provinces shall see themselves

themselves invited by any oportune conjuncture, it may be thought that they might easily return to their antient obsequie and obedience to that Prince, which time and occasion shall counsell them to receive.

In answer to that the present Government differs not much from what it formerly was, it may be said, that the alteration is such, as from it many others of greater importance may be expected. The Government is too much alter'd in the so great Authority which Count *Maurice* holds in them: too much in the Burthen of so many Grievances and Garrisons; and lastly too much in the power of some of the Provinces which do almost Lord it over the rest. And hence it is that the Concord between the United Provinces, is not effectually such as it appears outwardly to be.

Some of them are not well pleased with the so great Eminency which Count *Maurice* possesseth amongst some others of them. *Holland* is envy'd by them all, by reason of its great opulency. In particular, there are almost continuall Jars between *Holland* and *Zealand*: Some of them complain very much that they are oppress'd with the same Grievances and Garrisons since the Truce, as they were in the time of War: and *Holland* by its not complaining thereof, makes the rest quarrel the more with it, and with those that Govern there, who seem chiefly to sustain themselves, by the reputation and support of the *Holland* Forces: To boot with these diversities of Interest, how much doth the difference of so many and so various sects withstand the Union of their minds: many, and in many things disagreeing, are the Sects into which the People of the United Provinces are divided; besides the very many Catholicks which are there; and how can their own Forces be sufficient for their defence, when they draw not together? since it may so fall out, that such Forrein Princes as now side with them, growing hereafter to better Intelligence with the Crown of *Spain*, perhaps will not, or hindred by their own necessities, cannot hereafter assist the United Provinces. Out of all these disquisitions it may then be gathered, that this new Commonwealth is not likely to continue in its present condition, but that it will rather fail therein shortly, and be again reduced at last to the Government of one only.

CHAP. VIII.

The end of the preceding Discourse, and of the Relation.

Suppose now that the United Provinces were inclined to submit themselves again to the Government of one alone; let us see who this Prince may likelyest be, and by what means it may be hoped that they may be brought to submit themselves to him: In the past troubles of *Flanders*, the Rebels necessitated thereunto, fled for protection first to the French, and then to the *English*; but the new Principality of *Alanzon* vanish'd almost as soon as it had any being; and the Queen of *England* laying aside her hopes of Domination, was afterwards content with the Power of advising. *Orange* his hopes and cuffs were cut short by death; and Count *Maurice* wants either courage or opportunity to advance his Fortune. So as it is not to be believ'd that the

the United Provinces will ever subject themselves either to the French or *English*, or to Count *Maurice*: then next to the House of *Burgony*, the Low Countreys with justest Title will fall into the hands of the House of *Austria*.

It is thought by the gravest personages, and the best experienc'd in the Affairs of *Flanders*, that the United Provinces may return to be under the House of *Austria* by two several ways. The one, by appointing out unto them once again a Prince of that blood, who may succeed the Archdukes instead of Issue. The other, by endeavouring to induce the said Provinces by such means as shall be thought best fitting, to return under the obedience of the Crown of *Spain*, in case the King after the death of the Archdukes, shall not incline to cut the United Provinces off again from the Crown of *Spain*.

The first of these two ways is thought the likeliest to succeed; and 'tis seen that necessity did at last teach *Philip* the second, when all other remedies proving desperat, he was brought to make use of this, though he could not prevail in so doing by reason of the Archdukes sterility: This remedy will then consist in the King of *Spain* resolving to institute one of his own sons for heir to the Archdukes, which son by some fitting marriage may establish perpetuall succession of Princes of that Country in *Flanders*. Thus it might be hoped that the people of the United Provinces might be incited to love this mentioned Issue, as those from whom *Dutch* Successors might hereafter proceed, and that from this love, an inclination to obedience might insue, and finally Intigral obedience.

'Tis likely that the French would assist herein, to the end that they might be for ever rid of the neighbourhood and hazard of the Spanish Forces on that side of their Kingdom which lies open towards *Flanders*, and the better to secure their Countrey from the vicinity and danger of the Hereticks in the Low Countreys: Since by the reuniting of those Countreys under a Catholick Prince, they might have reason to hope that the Catholick Religion would be rais'd up again in those parts where it is now under hatches, and consequently the Intelligence which the Hereticks of the United Provinces, with those of the Kingdom of France would be at an end. Amongst the English these respects would be more counterpoised: on the one side they would willingly see the Low Countreys wholly alienated from the Crown of *Spain*; for those reasons as have been said before; but on the other side they would not be pleased to see this so potent and near neighbourhood of Heresie fail.

The second way, which would consist in using such means as were most conducive to make the United Provinces submit themselves again to the Crown of *Spain*, is generally judged to be harder to effect than the former, and may briefly be reduced to two heads, either of working upon the inclination of the said Provinces, or of endeavouring to subjugate them again by Force. It hath already been seen how much Philip the second labour'd both these ways, and yet got no good thereby. As amongst the Elements some agree, and some are of a contrary nature, so among those people in Europe which are under the Monarchy of *Spain*, some are of a temper conformable to the Spanish Nation, and some of a clean repugnant habit. Their Government is easilier receiv'd, and their Customs imbraced in Italy;

whereas in Flanders the repugnancy almost in all things between the Inhabitants there and the Spaniards, was a chief cause of the first Insurrection, and then of the War, and hath at last occasioned the falling off of many of the Provinces: so as to say truth, there is small hopes that the United Provinces will ever submit themselves to the obedience of the Crown of Spain, out of their own inclination: In case then that success be to be despair'd of by this way, it will remain that all hopes are to be placed in bringing them to their former obedience by force of arms. Doubtless a dangerous and difficult way; as forty years experience hath shown: if the war be to commence again when the Truce shall end, will the Spaniards have better soldiers, or better Commanders? Will their Princes prove better? or will they meet with more favourable conjuncture of times then formerly? Spain will never have better Commanders, nor more flourishing Armies then they have had till now in Flanders. 'Twill never have a wiser Prince then Philip the second; nor will it ever meet with times more oportune, then those were when its Enemies in Flanders were brought so low, and when at the same time they were so little fomented by Forrein Forces: It is rather to be feared that in such a case the Enemy might get advantage, being grown proud, by their so great past prosperity; and made secure that for the time to come the wonted strength of their Countrey will never fail them, nor their peoples first obstinacy, nor the already experienc'd forwardness of their confederate Princes, in assisting them upon all occasions against the Crown of Spain: so as it may be greatly doubted, that if they should fall to War again, things would go worse with the Spaniard, and that instead of getting, they would receive new losses. And unless it were for this doubt, why was the Truce so much desired by the Spaniards? But the mean while the Truce will afford Spain time maturely to weigh what will be most advantageous for that Crown, as well touching the Kings appointment of a son of his to succeed as heir to the Arch-Dukes, in manner as hath been said; as concerning what resolution is to be taken, either of prolonging the Truce, or making a firm peace, or of laying aside all further thought of agreement, and breaking out into war again; they are all of them businesses of such importance and weight, as will very well require long and mature consultation; but above all, that our chief consultations be had with God, who gives and takes away Kingdoms; changeth and altereth them as he pleases, and makes humane wisdom oft times prove most blind, when it appears to be quickest sighted.

THE
RELATION
OF
FLANDERS.

(To wit)

*Of those Two Provinces which remain still under the Obedience of the Arch-Dukes,
ALBERTUS and his wife ISABELLA, Infanta of SPAIN.*

*Wherein also Relation is made of the Religion profest in the United Provinces.
Of the State of Religion in ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.*

Written by the Cardinall *Bentivoglio* in his time of being Nuntio at the same
Arch-Dukes Court; and sent to Rome to the Cardinall *Burghese*,
Nephew to Pope *Paulus Quintus*; Dated April 6. 1613.

THe matters of Negotiation, which are treated by the Nuntios of the Apostolick sea, are either ecclesiasticall or temporall: the first are proper for the Nuntio, as the chief person who represents the Apostolick Ministers; and the second appertains unto him also in respect of his common condition with the other Ambassadors of Secular Princes. That you may therefore have a full and perfect knowledge of the most Important affairs which fall under the particular cognizance of the Nuntio for Flanders: 'Twill be needfull to reduce them to the two forementioned heads. Observing the same order; I will divide this present Relation into two parts: In the first I will treat of temporall Negotiations; in the other of such as are Ecclesiasticall; and I will treat first of the first, that I may render the knowledge of the other the more clear.

In Temporalities I will keep my self to some distinct heads; in representing the nature of the Arch-Duke and the Infanta his wife, the condition of their States; the form of their Court; what Officers they make use of; and what Intelligence they hold with neighbouring Princes; and at last I will say something concerning the Army which the King of Spain maintains in Flanders.

In matters ecclesiasticall I will observe the like Order; I will reduce them to some particular Heads; and when I shall have first related the present condition of Religion in those Provinces of Flanders as are Catholick, and continue under the obedience of the aforesaid Princes, I will pass to shew the State thereof in Holland and the other Hereticall United Provinces, which are now wholly divided from the former; for that the Church-men which are in those parts are under the same Nuntioship: and I will conclude the Relation in setting down all that belongs to the same Head, in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; since all Affairs of Religion which occur in those Kingdoms, fall likewise under the same Nuntiatore.

To begin the said order, I will first treat of the nature and custom of the Arch-Dukes, by which Title (as it is commonly used in these Provinces) the husband and wife are equally understood; and then I will pass on to those other heads which are contained in the first part.

CHAP. I.

Of the Natures and Customs of the Archdukes.

THE Archduke Albertus is low of stature, his complexion partly Sanguine, partly Flegmatick; as are generally almost all the Austrian Princes; his face white, his hair light coloured, and his lineaments very noble: he hath an Austrian mouth, and his complexion is rather tender then strong; he is troubled with the Gout; he had wont to be but seldom troubled therewithall; but of late his Fits come oftner and are more painfull: he is not subject to any other indisposition of health; nor can it be said how regular he is in his diet: at this present he is 54 years old: and thus much for the habit and temperature of his body. For what concerns his minde he is a Prince of singular virtue; and first it cannot be said how pious, and religious he is; nor how great the zeal and respect is which he shews outwardly towards Divine Worship, and sacred things: In all his Demeanors, you may read a rare integrity, and appearing bashfulness; wherein he may be an Example not only to all Princes, but even to every privat man; he is a great lover of Justice, and keeps great moderation in all things; he is grave in his actions, and of so compos'd and equall temper in them all, as he is never seen to vary the least title from himself: he speaks but little; according to the mode of the Austrian Princes; and slowly according to his natural Custom: He is Master of five Languages, his own mother tongue which is Dutch, Spanish, Latine, Italian, and French: he speaks and uses the three first, and understands the other two very well: he is knowing in divers sorts of Learning, which he got whilst he was Cardinall; and doth particularly studie the Mathematicks: In matters of business he is indefatigable, and his chiefest delight lies in business; giving audience seeral hours every day, both morning and evening with incredible attention and goodness: he is wonderfull secret, and makes as little discovery by his looks as by his words; you can never read any commotion of minde in his face, which is always equall and serene; he is of a constant nature, as he hath shewed in his patient bearing with so many adversities as have befallen him in the late Wars: He suffers in the common opinion by being irresolute and slow; and certainly he is better for peace then war: which commonly requires Councel and resolution at the same time; and cannot admit of so harmonious and equall order in actions, as the Archduke useth. This his so slow proceeding and with such gravity, ariseth partly from the naturall temperature of his body, but much more from his having lived so long in *Spain*, where he formed Customs to the Idea of those of King *Philip* the second, whom he set before him for his example in all things; nor was that so grave and well weighed manner of proceeding to be blamed in the King, as being according to the Government and nature of the *Spaniard*; nor had the King ever any occasion of altering that his usual way of living in time of peace with the different way of proceeding which is requisit in war; but *Flanders* requires a Prince more affable, and tractable, and the wars there more efficacious

efficacious and more resolute actions, then are those of the Arch-Duke. For what concerns the way of Government in *Spain*, he did very well to imitate King *Philip*, but for what concerns *Flanders*, and the managing of Arms, he might have done much better to have taken his Father, the Emperor *Charles* the fifth for his example; who knew very well how to temper his proceedings, and accommodate them to the so many and differing natures of People whereof the body of his Empire did consist. The Dutch seem rather to reverence, then to love the Arch-Duke; they reverence him for his so many virtues, but do not greatly love him, because hee never was communicable with the People, as they desired he should bee. This his so great Retirednesse and Gravity, is accompanied with an high punctuality of Majestical state; which he will have kept up, and which to say truth, is not so generally approved of upon all occasions. But 'tis no wonder if amongst the Harmony of so many egregious parts there bee some dissonance, or discords of humane affections. For all things else, the Arch-Duke is indued with excellent qualities, and deserves to bee recorded to posterity for one of the greatest and most considerable Princes vvhich our Age hath afforded.

But the Infanta *Donna Isabella*, his wife, of whom I am now to speak, is no lesse worthy to be recorded to posterity. Her complexion, wherein blood and flegme doe likewise predominate, is very like her husbands. She is higher of stature then most women are, and in these her present years she still keeps that Majestical beauty in her eyes and countenance, which was thought in her youth to exceed all others. She is graceful in all her actions, and a certaine benignity appears throughout all her behaviour, accompanied with Greatness, which violently draws unto her the love of all men; she is now about forty six years old; in perfect health; she is given to exercise, and is a great friend to Hunting, and field pastimes. Sometimes she her self on horseback will Hound her Hawk, and Govern the Chase. As for her gifts of minde, she is undoubtedly one of the gallantest and most signilized Princesses that ever lived, and represents unto the life in all Princely vertues, that famous *Isabella*, her Progenetrix, whose name she bears, and from whose blood she is descended.

It is not to be exprest how gracious and affable she is; how liberal and magnanimous; how just; but chiefly how Pious and Religious. Her zeal unto the Church is very great; nor hath shee any more fervent desire then to see it flourish every where, especially in those Heretical Provinces of *Flanders*, where formerly the Piety of her Predecessors did shine no lesse, then in these others which do faithfully stand still for the Catholike Religion. Such is the modesty and retirednesse of her Ladies, as you would say they lived in a Monastery, not a Court. And yet on the other side, you shall not see a Court fuller of Majesty, and more jolly then hers, in all occurrences which may arise, either in Turnements, Hunting, or other Recreations, which are used in Princes Courts. Her mind is truly Heroical, and above the reach of adverse fortune, as was particularly seen in the Arch-Dukes ill luck at *Newport*. Upon which occasion it might oft times be doubted, whether her constancy was greater when shee first heard that the Battle was lost, or when she heard that the Arch-Duke was taken, or at the
third

third advertisement that he was at liberty, but sorely wounded. She hath left the Government of those States which were her Dowry, to the Arch-Duke, being willing to disrobe her self thereof to the end that business might be the speedilier dispatcht by passing through the hands of onely one; and that the greater her husbands authority was, the people might bear the greater respect unto him. But notwithstanding the Arch-Duke doth not any thing which he doth not first fully communicate to her; but adviseth with her in all things, and receives great help from her sublime wit, which nature hath indued her withal, and from the singular experience which she got in so high and famous a School of Wisdom as was that of her glorious Father King *Philip*. But the Arch-Duke doth this likewise, as moved thereunto by the love which they mutually bear one to another, which doth equall, if not exceed all example of matrimonial affection. It appears almost incredible, that there can be such an uniformity of thoughts and will in two several persons; no discord being ever observed to be between them in any thing whatsoever, as if there were but one soul in both their bodies. In all these things the Infanta is in particular highly to be commended; who being Princessesse of these Countries, having in her a masculine spirit, yea, even a greater resolution then the Arch-Duke; is notwithstanding pleased to submit her self so strictly to the Laws of Matrimony, as she is content with the very bare Title of a Wife. And doubtlesly shee is generally much more beloved then her Husband, and is of far more amiable conditions; for she is exceeding affable in her conversation with all people, and hath extraordinary indowments of nature, which wins the very souls of all men. So as in the common opinion a better tempered Principality could not be desired, if the vertues of the Infanta and the Arch-Duke being joined together, some particular defect wherein that Husband is wanting, might be supplied by some particular perfection wherein the Wife doth superabound.

C H A P. II.

Of the condition of those States which the Arch-Duke possesses.

THE Arch-Dukes States in the Low Countries which after the Truce keeps still in their obedience to them; as also in the Province of the County of *Burgony* are in number tenne. To wit, the Dukedom of *Brabant*, *Ghelders*, *Lucemburg*, and *Limburg*; the Counties of *Flanders*, *Hennaults*, *Artois*, and *Namures*; the Lordship of *Malines*; and the Marquisit of the holy Empire. But at this time the last is comprehended under *Brabant*; and *Flanders* is divided into three Provinces; into the Province of *Flanders* it self; into that of *Torney*, with the Territory of *Ternefis*; and into the Province of the great Town of *Silla*, together with the two other Towns of *Duay*, and *Orciers*. To these Provinces is added the City of *Cambrey*, with the Territory of *Cambresis* on the side of *France*. The County of *Burgony* was afterwards given in portion by *Philip* the second King of *Spain*, to his daughter the Infanta, together with the Provinces of *Flanders*.

All these Provinces are generally very fertile, & set wine aside (whereof howsoever *Burgundy* produceth great store) they abound in all things necessary for human life. They abound most in Cattle and whitmeats. The Country is for the most part very pleasing, and the Fields are covered over almost all the whole year with gladsome Pasturage; and the Spring for many moneths together doth wantonize it there; the Summer in *Flanders*, being but as the Spring in *Italy*; The cold there may rather be said to be long then sharp, which is easily mastered without their Stoves; the people for the most part are of a fair aspect, very white skinn'd, and of as candid a disposition. Their conversation is pleasant, they are greatly given to liberty, and stick close to their priviledges, and ancient institutions.

The Government of the aforesaid People and Provinces is of three sorts; Monarchical, Optimatical, and Popular. The Monarchical government consists in the persons of the Arch-Dukes; that of the Optemati in the two Orders or States of the Church-men and Nobility; and the Popular in the like of the Cities and Villages, (as they are here called) wherein for the most part none but the common sort of People divided into their severall occupations, do inhabit. The Monastical Abbots whereof the greatest part of Ecclesiasticks in every Province, doth consist; inhabiting usually in their Monasteries, out of the Cities, and the Nobility in their Country habitations.

The States of every Province consists of these three sorts of persons, over which the Prince keeps his particular Prerogatives. So as these three forenamed Orders cannot by their own proper authority call together the States of the Province; the doing whereof depends always on the Prince; who upon any occasion either of his own, or of the Province, calls them together, and propounds unto them the business; to which every Order gives their Answer; and without the consent of all the three Orders, the Prince cannot of himself determine any thing. In this point his will is bounded by the will of the people; who sometimes absolutely deny what hee demands of them, and will maintain their ancient priviledges of being intreated to what they give way unto, and will injoy a subjection mixt with liberty.

The States General of all the Provinces is formed of the particular States of every Province; the particular States meet together every year once; in which meeting little or nothing is now adays handled, but the renewing of the consent of the three Orders for the continuation of the supply which every Province uses to contribute towards the Prince his maintenance. But the Convocation of the States General is very seldom had; this being a great Body to govern, and usual suspected by the authority and greatnesse of the Prince. Nor did they ever meet in all the time of the Arch-Dukes, save at the very first, which was that they might confirm the resignation which King *Philip* the second made of those Provinces to his daughter the Infanta.

For what concerns Justice; civil affairs come first to be handled by the Magistrates of Cities, when the people of the same City are concerned therein; and afterward passe by way of Appeal to the Provincial Councils, which are in every Province. But the causes of the Nobility and *Titulati* are first argued in the Provincial Councils, from the sentence whereof, all causes are generally caried by Appeal to the Supream

pream Council erected at *Malines*; except the Provinces of *Brabant*, *Ghelders*, and *Henault*, where causes receive their final determination. In criminal affairs, the Magistrates of Towns and Cities give sentence, who in this case have absolute power over their inhabitants; but judgment in criminal affairs wherein the Nobility or *Titulati* be concern'd, is reserved to the Provincial Council; and this in short, is the Government in general of the Arch-Dukes Provinces.

The ArchDukes have three chief Councils for the dispatch of such business as depend upon their own particular authority. The Council of State, the Privy Council, and the Council of the Treasury. The Council of State was anciently of great esteem. Affairs of greatest weight were therein handled and resolved, and the chiefest Lords of *Flanders* were wont to be admitted thereinto; but now there remains nothing but the shadow or bare title thereof. The last revolutions occasioned, and do still produce great suspicions, and made it appear, that secrets are not secure when known to so many. Yet at this very time, the prime Lords of the Country do covet a place in that Council; and some Ecclesiastical person of highest esteem, hath still been placed therein. But the Privy Council keeps its ancient reputation. All causes of Justice, or grace which depend upon the Supreme Authority of the Arch-Dukes, are therein treated of; and the Counsellors are usually seven, the President being therein comprehended, and some one Ecclesiastical person. The Council of the Finances or Treasury, manage the Arch-Dukes Monies, which come in most from the Provincial contributions; and some part from the Arch-Dukes patrimonial estate, and some imposition of Taxes. The Arch-Dukes Revenues or Incomes are then of three sorts: The first and greatest part consists in contributions, and is laid out in the maintenance of such Garrisons as are requisite in many Frontiers of those Provinces; one part only excepted, which together with the Kings money is imploy'd in payment of the Armies Horse. The monies which come in by the other two ways, go towards the maintenance of the Archdukes house, and other their extraordinary expences which daily occur. The Provincial contributions may come to about 200 000 Florins a month, or twenty thousand pound sterling: in the time of war they came to 200 05. pounds a moneth, but are now reduced to the afore-said sum. The other two sorts of Incomes may rise to about sixty thousand Florins, or six thousand pounds a moneth; The Arch-Dukes get but little from their patrimonial estates, because they are already almost all ingaged; neither doe they get much by their Imposition of Taxes, the whole Country being almost free from them by vertue of their priviledges.

The Province of *Flanders* is greatest, and richest, and consequently contributes much more then the others doe. *Brabant* comes in the next place, which is likewise a plentiful Province, and of large extent: the Provinces of *Artois*, and *Henault*, contribute almost alike with it, and that of *Silla* but little lesse. There is not much difference amongst the others; for though the circuit of the Dukedome of *Lucemburg* be large, it is not very vvealthy; and as for the Dukedome of *Ghelders* or *Ghelderland*, which is one of the greatest and richest Provinces of *Flanders*, the Arch-Dukes possesse but one fourth part thereof, the other three remaining under the Dominion of the United Provinces.

No Relief at all comes from *Burgony*, by way of Subsidy. Yet the Arch-Dukes receive a considerable Revenue from thence, from the salt which is made in that Province; and somewhat also from some Patrimonial estate, which they have therein. So as we may make account, that all the Arch-Dukes Revenues in the whole, come to 20008 pounds sterling a moneth.

All the Arch-Dukes Provinces are very well peopled. *Brabant*, *Ghelderland* and *Flanders*, are seated lowest, and abound most in Rivers, and consequently in Traffick; but the rest are more given to Arms, particularly those which coast upon *France*; which are *Burgony* and the *Walloon* Provinces; under which name is understood *Artois*, *Hennault*, *Namure*, *Limburg*, and that part of *Lucemburg*, which looks towards *France*: the City of *Cambrey*, and Countrey of *Cambresis*, being likewise therein comprehended. These are the Provinces which confine upon *France*; the others border some upon *Germany*, and some upon the United Provinces; and onely *Flanders* joins upon the Sea.

The Arch-Dukes Militia consist of six hundred *Curassiers*, and one thousand two hundred of the Guard, which are divided into divers companies under the Lords of the chiefest Provinces; and they consist also in the men of those Garisons which are maintained upon divers Frontiers as hath been touched upon before. Those of the *Curassiers* and Guard are notwithstanding kept in standing pay, but only their names inrolled; neither doe they injoy any thing thereby, in time of peace but some exemptions and prerogatives of small importance. In time of war they receive such pay as was assigned them when this Militia was first formed; which was wont to bee held in great esteem, being almost wholly composed of Gentry; but at this time it consists altogether of the baser sort of people, and is in all things else much fallen from its former repute; These are the proper Forces of the Arch-Dukes, to boot with those which upon occasion may be raised out of their own Territories, which commonly produce Warlike men.

The Arch-Dukes Forces which have any relation to pay, are but weak, for their Revenue is but small, and such as cannot any ways supply expences; so as many of their places are not so munitied as were needful; and if they were besieged, 'tis to bee feared they might easily be lost; but in all Kingdomes and great Dominions the expences are generally greater then are the Revenues wherewith to maintain them, and the expences of *Flanders*, by reason of the so many years war, and so very expensive, have been so excessive, as they have not only exhausted the Arch-Dukes own Revenues, and treasury, and reduced themselvs and their Countries stil to greater necessities, but they have likewise consumed the King of *Spains* Treasury, and left the body of so potent and great a Monarchy languishing and exhausted.

CHAP. III.

Of the Arch-Dukes Court.

THE Arch-Dukes Court is framed according to the manner of the other *Austrian* Princes; who have generally instituted their Courts in imitation of that of the house of *Burgomy* in former times. The chief Officers are these three; the Lord high Steward; the Master of the Horse; and the Groom of the Stool. Under the Lord high Steward is comprehended 4 other Stewards of the House. Under the Master of the Horse 4 Querries; and all the other Gentlemen of the chamber w^{ch} attend upon the Archdukes person are under the Groom of the Stool. Upon these Offices many other Orders of inferior persons do depend. The Carvers, Cuppers, and Suers, together with almost all the other household Officers are subordinate to the Lord high Steward. As are the pages and all that belong unto the Stables to the Master of the Horse; and those that attend upon the Arch-Dukes Bed chamber, to the Groom of the Stool.

These three are the chiefest Offices, and have no dependency one upon another; and therefore they all three strive for Prerogative; though in the common opinion, the office of Lord high Steward bee the greatest. He hath liberty to enter at all houres into the Arch-Dukes, and also into the Infanta's most privat Lodgings; Hee hath the chief command of the Family, and hath a particular place in all publick Audiences; and in the Chappel at Divine Service. Other Stewards depend chiefly upon the service of the Infanta. With her the first Lady of her Bed chamber hath the first place, and under her are the other Ladies and women servants. The place of chief Chaplain is also a place of great esteem, as also those of the Captains of the Guard. Which Guards are of three sorts. One of Archers, one of Halberdiers, and one of Lances and Harquebusses. And this last is the Guard which the Arch-Duke hath, as Generall of the King of *Spains* Army. These which I have named are the chiefest and principallest Offices of the Arch-Dukes Court; there be also a great many inferiour Offices.

Count *Agnover* one of the prime Gentlemen of *Spain*, and a man of great desert, is at this time Lord high Steward. It is not many months since the Arch-Dukes honoured him with this place; he having been many years Groom of the Stool; which place he still keeps, as also that of Captain of the Guard of Lances and Harquebusses. The place of Master of the Horse is at this present void, by the death of the Count *Soldre*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, who did enjoy it. Don *Piedro de Tolledo* is chief Chaplain; who was Embassadour from the Arch-Dukes in the Court of *Rome*.

Baron *Barbanfon* is Captain of the Archers, and Count *Frederig de Berg* Captain of the Halberdiers; both of them Gentlemen of the best rank in those parts. The Infanta's chiefe Lady of her Bed-chamber, is the Lady *Schacencourt*, who went from *France* into *Spain* to wait upon Queen *Isabella*, the Infanta's Mother. She is now very old, so as by reason of her great age her place is in many things officiated by her Niece the Lady *Katherina Livia*; who is a Lady of excellent parts, and much esteemed in Court: but by her own place the Lady *Katherine* is Cup-bearer to the Infanta; who is waited upon at the Table by her Ladies as the Arch-Duke is by the Gentlemen

lemen of the Chamber; both of them using to eat together both at Noon and Night.

The Ladies, as also the Gentlemen of the Chamber are all of them principal personages, some of them having the Title of Princes, and being Knights of the Golden Fleece: so as the Arch-Dukes Court, for what belongs to the service of their own persons, and generally in all things else may vie with any other the most flourishing and splendid Court in Chrifendome.

Their Court is the more innobled by the usual residence of the Popes Nuncio, and of divers Princes Embassadors, and Ministers of State; there are three who receive the entertainment of Embassadors; they of *Spain*, *France*, and *England*: though he of *France* is not styled by his King, with the Title of Embassador, that he may give precedence to him of *Spain*, as is used in the Court of *Flanders*.

The Arch-Duke speaks to all Embassadors, as also to all other Lords of how great quality soever they be in the third person, except they be such as are or may be Grandees of *Spain*, and to those he gives the Title of Signoria. But the Infanta useth *El Vos* generally to all, and follows the Kingly style of *Spain*, in all things. The Arch Dukes imitate the customes of that Court, likewise in the service in their Chappell, and in the celebration of their publick Feasts. And it may be said in generall, that both these Courts walk in the same steps, unlesse it be that the Court of *Brussels* may seem in some sort more pleasing and delightful by reason of the Freedome of the Country, and by the intercourse of so many Nations which by reason of the Army are usually seen there. And in this point the Court of *Flanders* may doubtlesly be said to exceed all those of *Europe*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Arch Dukes Ministers of State.

L Now come to the Arch Dukes Affairs, and to the Officers who doe manage them. Their Affairs are of two sorts; the first concerns themselves; the other have respect to the Crown of *Spain*. The first are managed by Dutch Ministers, the second by *Spanish*: For their own Affairs, these are they who deal chiefly therein. In the Affairs of that Country, the Auditeur *Lewis Verreychen*, their first Secretary of State; in Forrein correspondencies *Philip Prats* Secretary of State also; for matter of Monies, Count *Ester*, of the house of *Monerancy*, chief Treasurer and Councillor of State; and in matters of Justice, at present in default of the President, the Councillour *Masio*, and the Councillor *Pequis*, both of them of the Privy Council. The Auditor *Verreychen*, is a man of excellent parts: He hath been imploy'd in great Affairs, particularly upon the occasion of the last peace between *France* and *England*, and of the Truce concluded in *Flanders*; so as experience accompanies his other good parts. *Philip Prats* is commended for his integrity and diligence. Count *Ester* professeth to be spiritually given, and liberal, and by these two means hath wrought himself into a good opinion with the Arch-Dukes, and hath

gotten into Authority. Councillor *Mafio* is a man of rare candor and singular goodnesse. Councillor *Piquo* is a man of dispatch, and very able in the managing of publick affairs; and having won credit in *France*, where he was Embassador for some years from the Archdukes, he is imploy'd as well in politick as judicial affairs. In such occasions as fall out in *Germany*, the Secretary *Antonio Suares*, is made use of, a Dutch man by birth, and one of the Archdukes ancient servants.

For those things which do respect the King of *Spain*'s interest in the Provinces of *Flanders*, these are likewise committed chiefly to the Arch-Dukes care, out of two respects. The one by reason of the Arch-dukes being General of the Kings Army here; and the other, for that the same Arch-Duke and the Infanta his wife (their marriage proving sterill) are as it were Feoffees in trust in those States, which are after their decease to fall unto the crown of *Spain* again: so as executing the place rather of Governors then of Princes of *Flanders*, they therefore are very careful of the Kings interest, as he who is to be their next successor. But to speak more particularly of those the Kings Agents who are subordinate to the Arch-Dukes; the weight of the *Spanish* affairs lies chiefly now upon three, the Marquisse *Ambrosius Spinola*, the Secretary *John Mancidor*, and the Archdukes confessor; which confessor though he depend chiefly upon the Archduke, yet being by birth a *Spaniard*, and a man of great experience and abilities, he is imploy'd in all affairs which do most import the King of *Spain*.

Marquisse *Spinola*'s authority in this court is exceeding great. Five of the chiefest honours which the crown of *Spain* can bestow are in a short time confer'd on him. He is of the Order of the Golden Fleece; he is one of the Kings Council of State; he is Superintendent General of all the Kings monies which are laid out in *Flanders*; he is Camp-Master General, with the title likewise of Governor of the Army; and finally, in this his last journey into *Spain*, he hath received the honour of a Grandee. 'Tis now 11 years since the Marquisse led those *Italian* forces into *Flanders*, which were first to have served his bother *Fredericks* designs; he being dead, the Marquis succeeded in the same designs, to advance his Fortune by the Military way in *Flanders*, neglecting the pursuit of civil honours in *Genoa*. Being egg'd on thus by these designs, which were occasioned chiefly by the emulation which was between him and Prince *Doria*, in their native country of *Genoa*, he brought 8000 foot with him into *Flanders*, who came absolutely under his command. Being thus become a General before he could well be said to be a soldier, he soon after with equal forwardnesse ran into great reputation. Whereunto the taking of *Ostend* gave him the first rise. The two Fields of *Friesland* followed after, in both which the Marquisse shewed great vigilancy and valour, and knew very well how to supply the want of experience which he could not purchase in so short a time with every other proof of Military Government. He afterwards labored with incredible industry and wisdom in bringing the difficult practices of the Truce to an end; which lasted above two years; and which made it appear how excellent he was at the managing of the most difficult enterprises both military and civil. He is a very vigilant Minister, and is so indefatigable in matter of businesse, as though he weary all men, he is never weary himself. In him there are many actions which seem contrary within themselves.

On the one side he undertakes all things which he takes in hand with great fervency; and treats of them afterward with extraordinary studie and patience: Businesse seems to be to him a pastime; yet no man minds his business more then he, or is more intent therein: He seems to them who consider the splendid living in his house, to be given to Luxurie; yet no man is more indifferent in all things which concerns his own person; he eats and drinks not minding it: his rest is not to rest; and especially when he is in the head of an Army, he shewes himself no less their chief in bearing with hard ships, then in commanding over them; in fine, he is a Minister of singular valour and understanding; very advised in his Councils, very tractable in his comportment, and very upright in the administration of publick affairs: It cannot be said how averse he hath alwayes been to self-interest, and hath appeared so much the closer handed in managing the Kings moneys, as he hath been the more liberal of his own in his excessive expences. His Authority (as I have said) is very great in this Court: All the most important affairs of the Army pass through his hands; and in all other the greatest affairs of State, he hath likewise always the principal part.

Great is the Authority likewise of Secretary Mancidor; he was secretary of the Army, when the Arch Duke being as then still Cardinall, came first to be Governor of these Countreys, and hath from that time to this, discharged that place with great praise and integrity; he is come out of the discipline of *Don John d'Ideachez*, a very famous Officer; and he hath always and still doth profess to have his chief dependency upon him. Mancidor shew'd his integrity, and how far he was from self-interest, when the Truce was made; in the managing and conclusion whereof there was not a Spaniard but himself: for setting aside all by-respect of self-profit, he never rested from such Offices which made most for the Publick service: and no doubt but that for what concern'd himself, no man lost more by the Truce then he; for whereas in the time of War his place was worth ten or twelve thousand Crowns a year, now in the time of Truce 'tis hardly worth three thousand Crowns a year: He is austere in his looks and behaviour; of a very composed nature; one that ruminats more then he speaks; but professeth great truth in what he saies; and this his so cleer proceeding, hath wonn him great credit and authority with the Arch-Duke; though he shuns the making of it appear as much as he can: and so by refusing all company, and concourse, he is become the more fix'd, by how much the less appearance he makes: He is an Officer very well esteem'd of here, as also in Spain, in witness whereof the King made him of late one of his chief Councell of War.

But the Arch-Dukes Confessor hath no lesser share in what concerns the Spanish Interest in Flanders. *Il Padre Maestro Fra Inego di Brizuela*, of the Dominican Order, executes this place; he was placed therein by Philip the second, when the Arch-Duke came to the Government of these Provinces; at which time *Fra Inego* for his eminency in Divinity, was Regent thereof in Rome: so as he hath been now about 17 years in Flanders, and hath still continued the same place to the great satisfaction of the Arch-Duke, and applause of all others: And though by reason of this his place, he hath no particular employment,

ment, save what belongs to the ruling of the Arch-Dukes conscience; it may notwithstanding be said, that his is as it were a supream Tribunal, whether affairs of all natures are brought. And the Arch Duke who as hath been said, imitates the actions of Philip the second in all things as much as he may, and who conforms himself generally to the mode of the Court of Spain, hath easily suffered this man to come by authority, for that great is the authority which the Kings of Spains Confessors usually have; and for that this man is known to be very capable of all manner of business: But his authority is particularly increased since those two Journeys which three years agoe he made into Spain; by one of which he wrought the King of Spain and his Councillors to give way unto the Truce; and by the other, that such assignement of monies as was requisit should be established. Now, since the last Voyage, and after his having seen and been conversant in so many affairs, the Arch-Duke hath made him one of the Councell of State: By this occasion the Confessor hath likewise left a great opinion of himself in the Court of Spain; and from that time to this 'tis thought that he may be employed by the King himself, and so come to greater preferments: and certainly he cannot be better qualified for the managing of publick affairs. No man can better understand a business, nor represent it better: he pleaseth by his aspect, perswades by his learning, moves by his piety; and his Religious Cloister-parts, joyn'd to his civil worldly ones, in my opinion no King can desire a more noble and perfect Christian Councillor. It was necessary that I should a little expatiate my self upon these Three Officers, as those which are the Three Chiefest of this Court.

CHAP. V.

What Intelligence the Arch-Dukes hold with their Neighbours.

THe Kingdoms and States which do neighbour upon the Arch-dukes Provinces are these: On the south the Kingdom of France, on the west that of England; on the north the United Provinces; and towards the east, their Countrey joynes upon the states of many German Princes: upon those of Cleves and Juliers, of Trevers, Gullen, Leidge, and they confine also on the side of France, for a long space upon Lorain; on which side the County of Burgony is parted from all the other Provinces.

There are general jealousies between the Arch-Dukes and these their neighbours, not out of any considerations of the Arch-Dukes own persons, but for such as concern the King of Spain, as their successor.

In former times when the Low Countreys were in the possession of the House of Burgony, they had wont to ballance the Forces of their confining Princes, according to the times, now in one sort, now in another: and commonly the Dukes of Burgony, and Kings of England joyn'd together to counterpoise the greatness of the Kings of

of France : who on the contrary, had always the Kings of Scotland for their adherents : but when the House of Austria grew to so great a height, the face of the Affairs of Europe began to alter ; and the Princes correspondencies alter'd together with their Interests. The Forces of Europe being then weighed, and put into the scales ; the French liked not their being environ'd by the States of the Crown of Spain by the way of the Pirenean Mountains ; by Flanders, by the Fleets of the Mediteranean, and Ocean Sea.

The English were afraid to see themselves begirt, and as it were placed between the arms of the Spanish Empire by reason of the same Fleets of the Ocean, which might be maintained in Spain and in Flanders : and generally all the German Princes, but especially the Hereticks liked not to be flanked by so great a Power. All the neighbours did therefore joyn together in indeavouring to cut off Flanders from the Crown of Spain ; and to their forces of Arms, the like of Heresie were joyned ; the new Sects whereof could not be so well secured in these northern Countreys, being to contend with so great a power as was that of the seventeen Catholick Provinces of the Low Countreys joyned together under the obedience of the King of Spain.

The War of Flanders broke forth then at first fomented by these externall Aids, and by the same means did still continue, till the fire thereof was rather sweep'd up then quench'd by the twelve years Truce : and if the neighbours have not prevailed in cutting off the whole Low Countreys from the Crown of Spain ; yet have they seen many Members sever'd from it, and that Crown deprived in a great part, of his former vast Empire upon the sea.

And how hath it rejoyced them since, to see this new Commonwealth of the United Provinces, reduced into a fix'd and vigorous Body, make head against it ? a Commonwealth compounded of Rebels and Hereticks : the soul of whose present Government is Liberty ; and whose desire of enjoying it will still increase, by their assuefaction thereunto. The King of Spain being then to succeed unto the Arch-Dukes, the forenamed neighbouring Jealousies keep yet alive ; and will be much greater, when the King shall be posselt of these Provinces.

At the present, since the Truce, better correspondency is held with all the neighbours, then was in time of the former Warre ; which whilst it lasted, France and England never ceased furnishing the United Provinces with such Assistance as they needed.

It is to be imagined that better Intelligence may better be held in particular between Spain and France, by reason of the double marriage which is contracted between the two Crowns. Though it may also be doubted, that this Intelligence may be regulated more by the consideration of Interest, then by that of Blood.

And doubtlesly it is not to be believ'd that the French by reason of this alliance with the Crown of Spain, will disert them with whom they are joyn'd in their particular friendship and confederacie with the United Provinces. The Examples fresh in memory of the late Kings of France, and the last King of Spain, may sufficiently shew by their past alliances, what may hereafter be expected from the like : so as the most which at this present conjuncture of time, the Arch.

Arch-Dukes, and King of Spain can expect from the French, is that they will interpose themselves as occasion shall require in friendly Offices, either in prolonging the present Truce, or in turning it into a secure and lasting Peace.

Thus far the conjunction of the two Crowns may be believ'd to prove advantagious for the Affairs of Flanders: whereas on the contrary it may be held for certaine, that the French will appear openly against the Spaniards if upon any other conjuncture of time they shall goe about to subjugate the United Provinces againe by Force.

But the Neighbourhood with the King of England is, and ever will be more jealous. The Rebellion of Flanders was chiefly favour'd by Forces from England in Queen Elizabeths days; and the now King James Treads in the Queens steps, in his succession to that Kingdom: and is much the more pertenacious therein, and more inveterate in his hatred to the Catholick Church, by his having made himself supream Head of the Church of England, not only by Title, but more by his Doctrine and Learning. He hath endeavour'd, and still will endeavour as much as lies in the King of Englands power, to prejudice the Affairs of Flanders, that he may thereby also wound the Catholick Church, which was the end likewise of the late Queen. He is likewise most jealous of the Spanish Forces in Flanders; as well by the Example of what the late King of Spain endeavoured against the aforelaid Queen from those parts; as for that Flanders is the safest refuge which those Catholicks have who withdraw or fly from his Kingdoms: so as to boot with the suspicions which the French have always received and given in the Neighbourhood of Flanders, those of Heresie are added in the English, which consequently make the Rent greater betweene these Countreys, and those which are under the King of England.

The Arch-Dukes are chiefly jealous of the Neighbourhood of the United Provinces; and though Armes be laid aside by reason of the Truce; yet the jealousies on both sides continue still the greater: which will turn again (as may be believ'd) to the taking up of Arms, when the Truce shall be expired. The United Provinces nourish their people as much as they can, in fear of the King of Spain, which is considered more by them in the persons of the Arch-Dukes, then by any of the Neighbouring Princes; and this they endeavour now no less then before, to the end that their people may so much the willinger concur to the maintenance of such Forces as they do still keep on foot since the Truce, in great numbers by heavy Impositions.

Thus they live in perpetuall jealousie of the Arch-Dukes, and Crown of Spain: but they occasion likewise no less jealousies on their behalfe out of so many and so known considerations: nor is it to be doubted, but that upon occasion of this Free Commerce, they will by all secret wayes endeavour both to corrupt the Loyalty and contaminate the Religion of these yet obedient Provinces.

The neighbourhood between the Hereticall States of Germany and those of the Arch-Dukes, is likewise suspicious, and will be
now

now much the more since the Dukedoms of Cleves and Juliers are falne into the hands of Heretick Princes : from which parts the rebellion of Flanders was always likewise fomented ; and by the example of what is past, the Hereticks will assuredly govern themselves in the future : and it may be believ'd that on the contrary the forces of Spain will do what in them lies to their prejudice.

The conformity of Catholick Religion hath occasioned the better correspondency between the States of Flanders and the Archbishopricks of Cullen and Trevers, and the Bishoprick of Liege. Though sometimes these Forces by reason of the irremediable necessity of War, have not been able to forbear using some violences upon the aforementioned Countreys.

Lorrain hath scaped the best of any ; and consequently the neighbourhood on that side hath stood and stands still upon better terms than any other : and truly Spain hath wont to make great esteem of the alliance of the Dukes of Lorrain with their King, and of the Commôdity which they thereby receive in passing such of the Kings Forces as come from Italy into Flanders, through that Countrey.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Army which the King of Spain maintains in Flanders.

TRUCE is a suspension of Arms, and a certain medium between war and peace ; but though this affair of Flanders had been an absolute peace, and not a Truce, for a determinat time, yet must an Army still have been maintained here ; these Countreys being environ'd with suspicious neighbours, and by reason of homebred dangers which some evil humors even of these very Provinces might produce. The Army was then only lessened here, after the Truce was agreed on, and 'twas resolved, to cashier such who upon occasion might be readiest to be raised again, and to keep such in pay, as would be more difficult to be listed hereafter. All the Dutch foot were dismiss, unless it were some few, which shall be mentioned hereafter ; and the Spaniards, Italians, Burgonians, and Irish, together with a select number of the antientest Wallouns ; and because Spain was exhausted of moneys, and Flanders much more, it was determin'd that for the lessening of so great expences, a strength of Soldiery should be kept on foot, as should only be sufficient upon all occasions, to withstand the first shock, till such time as new Forces might be raised ; and thus the army was then reduced to about 12000 foot, and 1600 horse, all choice men.

There are three Brigadoes of Spaniards, two of Italians, one of Burgonians, one of Irish, and three of Wallouns ; and 18 Companies of horse, distinguish'd into Launciers, Curassiers, and Harchebugers, eleven under Spanish Captains, four under Italians, and there under-Captains of these parts : to these are added some choice Companies of Spanish foot, together with some Dutch, as hath been said ; and a very small addition of such English and Scotch Catholicks as were re-

ceived of late years into the Army, after the peace made with the King of England. The Spanish foot may in all be about 4500; the Italians 2000, the Irish 1000; the Burgonians 800, the Wallouns 2000 the Germans about 300, and the English and Scots 200: the horse are mixt of Spaniards, Italians, Wallouns, and others of this Country, which amount in all to about 1600 horse, as hath been said; there are besides a certain requisit number of Officers for the Artillery, maintained, but these since the Truce are but very few; to all these sort of people is added many *Trattenuti*, entertain'd persons about the Arch-Dukes person, and many other *Tranenuti* about the Army; both of which are thus termed, because they are paid apart, and are not comprehended within the ordinary body of the foot and horse: This is shortly the Soldiery which is maintained now by the King of Spain in Flanders, all which are paid with his moneys, except such horse as the Arch-Dukes do pay, as hath been said before.

This Army is like a great Animall which lives in continual voracity; so as it needs much food to maintain it in requisit vigour. The provision of moneys which for this end is sent from Spain is 90 thousand crowns a month 70000 whereof is spent in payment of the Army; and the rest upon other occasions. The expence of the Artillery is now very little; and generally all that was needfull for field-service in the time of War: an Army drawn into the field may be said to be a portable City, govern'd by Military Laws, and environ'd every where with Iron walls; and therefore at such a time requires all those things which is requisit for a walled City; whence it is that expences in time of war must needs be excessive. They are now much moderated by the Truce; for where the King paid in the last war, whereof Marquis Spinola was General, 300000 crowns a month, he pays no more now then what hath been said, and the Arch-Dukes proportionably have much lessened theirs.

Very many are the Officers which are requisit for a well-govern'd Army; of which many are more for the pen then sword; of these the Secretary of the Army is in greatest esteem; and next him the Muster-master-general, and then the Pay-master General, and the Tellers; all which Officers have their under-officers. Then the Justice which is used as well in causes civil as criminal, is administred by an Auditor-General, accompanied with divers others, who are likewise subordinate to him.

But the chief Commanders who have the Government of the Army, are the Camp-Master-General, the General of the Horse, and the General of the Artillery; in the Body of Foot, the Camp-masters with such Officers as depend upon them, follow next after; in the Body of horse, the Lieutenant General, the Commissary General, and the Captains of horse with their inferior Officers; and in the body of the Artillery the Lieutenants, and those who are called Gentlemen of the Artillery; together with those of inferior place who belong to that Office: There are likewise two Church-Ministers in the Army, the Vicar-general, upon whom depend such Church men who are employed in such spiritual functions as do occur; and the Administrator of the Kings Hospitall, which is continually maintained in the Army for the cure of diseased and wounded Soldiers.

All the Nations whereof this Army is composed have at all times
given

given great testimony of their valour: continual emulation hath been between the Spaniards and Italians; the Spaniard always pretend to superiority over the Italian; and the Italian to equality with the Spaniard. And the contention between these two Nations, hath sometimes produced dangerous disorders, and disturb'd divers good successes which in several occasions were very hopefull. The Soldiery are now distributed into Garrisons, and almost all of them upon the Frontiers; and their Commanders are generally antient and experienc'd Soldiers; but by reason of the so many years war, and through the so many mutenies which have hapned, the Discipline wherein the Army had wont to flourish is much corrupted. Of late years there are few souldiers who have not their wives; and between women and the love of their children, of necessity Military vigour must fail and grow less: nothing more then this hath reduced the Soldiery into poverty; poverty hath been the chieft cause of mutenies; and nothing hath more corrupted the Discipline, and more indammag'd the Kings affairs then mutenies; which through these disorders hath suffered almost as much by their own Forces, as by those of the Enemy; but as in humane bodies the older they grow, the longer they do languish; so this Army of Flanders by so long a war, hath felt the infirmities of age, and the defects thereof; and nothing hath been judg'd better for the cure thereof then rest, which the Truce hath now caused these Countreys to enjoy.

And this may suffice for what concerns Temporal Affairs, as I propos'd unto my self at first. Now I will proceed to the Ecclesiasticall, which are proper to the Nuntios, as they represent the Apostolick Ministers.

The Second P A R T of the
R E L A T I O N of F L A N D E R S.



Ought to account it a great happiness to me, that I have been a servant to the Apostolick Sea in Flanders, in this imployment of Nuntio, which by reason of its so many particular circumstances, is to be esteemed so remarkable. I have negotiated here between two of the greatest Princes of Christendom; in one of the prime Courts of Europe; in one of the gallantest Countreys that can be seen; in a publick School of the noblest actions that can be undertaken. These Countreys (as hath been said) are inviron'd by France, England, the United Provinces, and Germany: and such is the relation between the affairs of Spain and these of Flanders, as both of them may be said to joyn in one common and reciprocall Government. These Countreys do every day entertain and transmit great store, and great variety of publick affairs: no considerable alteration can happen amongst the neighbours; which hath not some reflexion here; nor can there any thing of importancy arise here, whereof the neighbours do not partake. In these six years now near at an end, since I came to Flanders, great affairs have hapned in these parts: The Treaty of Truce indured two years, which began to be handled at my first arrival; and this business was so long in contriving, by reason of the difficulties that were met withall, in ripening and dissipating the humours which so long a war had aggregated.

Almost presently after the Truce, two great commotions arose; the one through the affairs of Cleves and Juliers, when the succession of that House failed; the other by the Prince of Cunde's flying from France, who was received into protection in these Provinces by the King of Spain, and the Arch-Dukes: and as long as Henry the 4th King of France lived there was still danger, that for the one or the other of these, and finally for them both, bitter war was to arise in these parts; nor did the Hereticks for all this lose their forwardness in the affairs of Cleves and Juliers: they took the Town of Juliers by force, and threatned Cullen; so as it behov'd Flanders to oppose her Forces to their threats, and so that City was secured: but for all this the Hereticks did not forbear, nor yet afterwards, to raise up innovations on that side by the alteration of Government which they changed in Aquisgrane, and by the fortifying of Mullen, which they did much to the prejudice of Cullen.

On the behalf of England; at my first coming hither, the Earl of Tyrone's flying from Ireland hapned, who was received in Flanders, whereat the King of England was much offended; and the said King continued still in his suspicions, that some of the English Catholicks who were conspirators in the gunpowder-treason, were secured here in Flanders; and in the war which the same King hath made with his Army of books come forth under his own name, against the authority of the Church of Rome, the first blowes were felt here, and here it was requisite that the first defence should be made.

But

But very Tragical have the events been which have happened in *Germany*, since I came into *Flanders*; which have all had relation to this Arch-Duke, by reason of his nearness of blood, and other interest with the two brothers which took up arms one against another, representing scenes and spectacles so full of horror. In the first commotions the Emperor *Radolphus* was almost driven out of *Prague*, and in the second, almost taken in the Castle; bereaved in the first of a great part of his Territories, and almost of all of them in the last. The only name of Emperor remained to him, that death might bereave him of some one of his past glories.

The Electors after this shewed a great alienation to the succession of King *Matthias*. Neither were the doubts small that in such a crisis of time the Hereticks would molest the new Election of the Emperor by force of Arms. And that particularly they were to conspire with the United Provinces of *Flanders* in these their designs. So as it behoved to use all possible indeavour and industry to induce the Electors to favour King *Matthias*, to the end that the Universal Tranquility might not be altered; in which it may be truly said that no body laboured more on this side, then the Arch-Duke *Albertus*. He first was very earnest in procuring the general quiet; and then doubled his diligence in the new Election. First, in the behalf of his brother, and then in keeping himself from being chosen. And perhaps his diligence in the latter was more necessary then in the former: by the declared disposition which the Electors shewed towards him, who were already inclined to keep the Empire in the house of *Austria*, but not as yet, to have King *Matthias* to succeed. Which action of the Arch-Dukes in indeavouring all those means to shunne the Empire, which might have been used to obtain it, deserves to be for ever recorded to posterity; so well did he know how to govern his own opinion with such moderation and judgement, knowing what was best for the common welfare of *Germany*, and the particular good of his own house. The general joy of *Matthias* being chosen Emperor was afterwards so much the greater, by how much greater the fears were that his succession might prove turbulent and dangerous. And thus at the present do the publick Affairs in these Northern parts of *Europe* enjoy this Calm. In my time then have the above mentioned occurrences happened both here at home, and hereabouts; in which, together with an infinit number of other Affairs of very great consequence *Flanders* hath had her share, and hath made her neighbours taste thereof.

But of all others I have ever esteemed it my greatest good fortune, to have had this place confer'd upon me in a time when a suspension of Arms was agreed upon for some monethes, and was afterwards established by a Truce for twelve years. I hereby saw a large Field opened unto me to come by a full knowledge of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in this Country, which is under the Nunciature of *Flanders*, and to indeavour some cure for the parts as they may be term'd of this body, which the inveterate indisposition of so long a Warre had left infirm and weak. There was hardly any memory left of the Apostolick Nuncio's visitations, through the impediment which the noise of War had given to these Ecclesiastical Functions. Great also were the evils which Heresie had produced in the past calamity of these

these Provinces. A great many Churches ruined; famous Monasteries destroyed; the peoples Religion in many places corrupted; the Discipline of the Catholick Clergy in sundry sorts disordered; and a thousand other sad footsteps, and deplorable Records of the fury thereof being left. I could then acquaint *Rome* fully with the estate of Ecclesiastical Affairs on one side; and on the other side apply such remedies here upon the very places themselves, as could proceed from my weaknesse, by making many journies in visiting personally all these Provinces, which remain under the Arch Dukes obedience.

And because the Truce had made way for free commerce in the United Provinces, which are likewise under this Nunciature, I had great conveniency also, to inform my self fully what the condition of the Catholick Religion was in them. I first acquainted *Rome* with all things needful; neither did my labour prove afterward fruitlesse which through divine blessing, I imploy'd in preserving those Relicks of Religion which yet remain in the abovenamed Provinces. By means of this Truce likewise, I had the better opportunity to discover the state of Religion in the King of *Englands* Dominions, and to provide for many things tending to the benefit of such Catholicks as are there; whose Affairs have likewise great relation to the Nunciature of *Flanders*. And these are the Ecclesiastical Affairs about which till now I have imploy'd my time. Re-assuming then the order which I spoke of at first, I will treat of each head in the manner which I have proposed; that is, first of the state of Religion in these Provinces of the Arch-Dukes, and then of the state thereof in *Holland* and the other United Provinces; and lastly, I will shew you the condition thereof in the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

CHAP. I.

Of the state of Religion in the Arch-Dukes Provinces.

THE Government of the Ecclesiastical Affairs in the 17 Provinces of the Low Countries, did anciently depend upon four only Bishops. On the Bishops of *Cambrey*, of *Utricht*, of *Tornay*, and of *Arras*. Only one part of *Brabant*, and one part likewise of *Lucemburg*, and almost the whole Country of *Limburg*, were under the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and on the same Country of *Lucemburg*, almost all the other Bishopricks which do surround it, did extend themselves; as *Mets* and *Trevers* on the side of *Germany*, *Tul*, and *Verdune* towards *France*, and *Lorrain*; but the Countries neer unto *Flanders*, being in a great part over-run with heresie, and the evil thereof being crept even hither, King *Philip* the second obtained of Pope *Paul* the fourth, that new Bishopricks should be erected, the easilier to hinder those evils which was feared from without, and also to remedy those which began to operate in these Countries. The new Erection was this. *Cambrey* and *Utricht*, which were before but bare Bishopricks, were made Arch-Bishopricks; and the Arch-Bishoprick of the City of *Malines*, was founded anew. The new Bishopricks were these; *Nimigham* in *Ghelderland*, *Harlem* in *Holland*, *Middleburg* in *Zealand*, *Deventer* in *Overissell*, *Leverden*

Leverden in *Friesland*, and *Groninghen* in the Province of that Name. These together with the Arch-Bishoprick of *Utrecht* were erected in the Countries which are at present under the United Provinces; and are now since the rebellion and the last war extinct. The others were *Antwerp* and *Balduke*, in the Dukedome of *Brabant*, *Ruremont* in *Ghelderland*; *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, and *Ipri* in *Flanders*; *Saint Omers* in *Artois*; and *Namures* in the County of *Namures*: The first six were placed under the Arch-Bishoprick of *Malines*; and the other two together with that of *Turney* and *Arras*, under the Arch-Bishoprick of *Cambrey*. There are then two Arch-Bishopricks, and ten Bishopricks, in those Provinces which remain under the obedience of the Arch-Dukes.

The abovenamed Churches are generally poor; except that of *Cambrey*, which is of an ancient and noble foundation: the Churches of *Torney* and *Arras* are nobly enough indow'd, both their foundations being very ancient: So as in these three of *Cambrey*, *Torney* and *Arras*, Divine Service is exercised with much dignity and splendor. The other Bishopricks have but small Incomes, and therefore most of them want Seminaries. The beginnings of a Seminary were laid some years agoe in *Antwerp*; and it may be hoped that by little and little it may have farther progresse. Another is lately founded in *Malines*, and is already in very good condition: another is begun in *S. Omer*. *Gaunt*, *Bruges*, *Ipri*, *Balduke*, and *Ruremond* have none; and have but little hopes ever to have any, for want of necessary commodities. The Churches of *Cambrey*, *Torney*, *Arras*, and *Namures*, have no Seminaries apart; but maintain one between them all in the University of *Doway*; where according to the power of each of them, they maintain a proportionable number of Students: But of all other Cities, two good Seminaries if it were possible to have their Foundations laid, would be very useful in *Antwerp*, and in *Gaunt*. These are the two Cities of all the Arch-Dukes Provinces which are most infected with heresie. *Antwerp* chiefly by reason of Traffique, which from the very first opened the Gates to the mingling, and corruption of Sects, together with the Traffiquers who introduced them. A good Seminary would in particular be of great use and advantage to this Diocese: and though there hath always been need thereof, yet now more then ever, for that since the Truce a good part thereof is under the Temporal Dominion of the United Provinces. Which though they promised under their hands to the late King of *France*, not to meddle with the exercise of the Catholick Religion in those parts, which are under the spiritual Government of the Bishoprick of *Antwerp*; yet their Heretick Ministers do every day indeavor novelties, and go about as much as in them lies to spread abroad the infection of their Sects in those parts. *Gaunt* is likewise a Merchandizing City, having three Rivers which run through the midst of it, and are of great conveniency for Traffick. But to boot with the contagion of the neighbouring Sectaries, the people of *Gaunt* have willingly suffered themselves to be poisoned with the Licentiousnesse of Liberty.

In former times those of *Gaunt* were always somewhat contumacious and licentious against their Princes: and have since shewed the like aversion against the ancient Religion: So as a great part of this City is infected with Heresie; and certainly it would be a great advantage as well to the City as to the Diocese, if there were a good Seminary

nary there. *Bruges* and *Ipri* are either wholly free from Heresie, or but little infected therewithal; and their Diocesse are like unto them. *Baldue* is a very Catholick City, but some parts of the Diocesse is not altogether so. *Ruremond* is a very poor Church; almost not at all indow'd; the people within the Town are well enough affected, but without, they are somewhat infected. The City of *Malines* is very clear from Heresie. Some parts of the Diocesse are notwithstanding polluted, particularly *Brussels*, a Town of large Circuit, and for concourse of people much greater then *Malines* it self. The Cities of *Cambrey*, *Arras*, *Saint Omers*, and *Namures*, together with their Diocesse are generally very constant in the Catholick Religion.

Torney even since the first commotions in *Flanders* suffer'd it self to be involv'd in the contagion of Heresie, as also *Valenciana*, a large Town, and of great Traffick; it is under the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishoprick of *Cambrey*; except one part thereof which is subject to the Bishoprick of *Torney*. So as in both these places the seeds of Heresie remain yet: But the Hereticks dare not discover themselves in any of the said places, neither by giving any scandall, nor by doing any unlawful act in Religion, which may be known; concerning which the Magistrates, and Church-men are very vigilant; but chiefly the Arch-Dukes themselvs; who are as diligent therein as can be desired, not only by the example of their own extraordinary zeal, but by means of their Supream Authority.

All the abovenamed Churches are provided with indifferent good Ministers, and generally with good Clergy within the Cities. Good Curats are likewise provided for the Diocesse; and except it be in the Provinces of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Ghelderland*, the Country is well enough provided of them. In those three Provinces there is great scarcity of them, because the *Flemmish* Tongue is only used there; so as the other Provinces cannot supply their needs. But in all the others the *French* Tongue is used, and by reason of a Seminary which they have in common amongst them, in the University of *Doway*, they may provide Curats for such Churches as have need of them.

This University serves chiefly for the Students of the *walloon* Provinces, and for the others that lie more inward, where they speak *French*, as in the Provinces of *Torney* and *Silla*. But for those parts of the Country where they speak *Dutch*, the University of *Lorain* serves for the same purpose. These two Universities are in the Arch-Dukes Provinces; that of *Lorain* is very ancient, and keeps still in great reputation; that of *Doway* was built by *Philip* the second for the better service of the neighbouring Provinces, but *Lorain* is far beyond it for the concourse of Scholars, Eminency of Professors, and for Foundations of many Colledges wherewith it is beautified.

These two Universities shew great reverence & obsequiousnesse towards the holy See; and particular care is had in each of them, for putting the Council of *Trent* in practice, they being very zealous in preserving the purity of the Catholick Faith. The Bishops and Curats in their severall Offices do particularly labour that the Council be put in practice; and as for the secular Ecclesiastical Order there is not therein much to be added. Residencies are there observed, and incompatibilities forborn; and all other Ecclesiastical Functions are generally exerci-

exercised according to the Decrees of the Council, and they daily reform their customs.

But as for the regular Order, to say truth the excess of liberty in the Monasteries, especially in those of women, and more particular in those of the Nuns of Saint *Benedict*, and Saint *Bernard*, is very great. The Council was never admitted of amongst them; nor is it to be hoped that it ever will be, because the chief Monastery as well of Women as of Men are for the most part in *Campania*; so as it would be too difficult a business to reduce them to strict Cloister observancy; Moreover they are taught to receive in strangers, either through the visits of Friends, or for the convenience of Travelers. And although the Guests of the Nuns Monasteries are placed without the Cloisters, yet this is done with too much familiarity of Secular conversation.

This is the ancient custom of the Country; and truly but few scandals are observed to insue hereupon; for liberty it self serves for a remedy to liberty; by the so great and usual custom of conversation; and for that the people of these parts are but little given to sensuality, and extraordinarily candid in their behaviours. Very free is likewise the form of living, which is here observed in several Chapters of the Canons, whereof there are three; all of an ancient Foundation. One in *Mons*, another in *Nivella*, and another in *Mabuse*. Their Institution is to serve in the Quire at Divine Service, as doe other Canonists; and they wear a very grave Church habit: For what remains, they live dispersed in divers houses in those towns where the Chapters are erected, and here they are clothed as Seculars are; they receive all manner of visits, they daunce and rejoyce, and except it be the Title, they retain almost nothing of Ecclesiastical persons: So as one would say, whatsoever is Sacred in the Church, were utterly profane when out of it. All these the Canons are of the chief Families of *Flanders*: They all of them do usually marry afterwards; and those who will not marry live in perpetual chastity, continuing their Function; and in the same freedom as formerly; and yet they doe thus defend their chastity, meerly with the weapons of natural goodness and modesty. As if they were inclosed within the Walls of the severest and most inaccessible cloisters. So much doth the good natures of some prevail over severe Laws in many others.

But to return to the Monkly Order; the liberty thereof, as I have said, is great; and 'twill be very hard to work a reformation therein out of the abovesaid reasons. The Arch-Dukes themselves inflam'd with a desire to see the Ecclesiastical Government set in a good way, have much indeavoured that the Monasteries might be more strictly kept, but sufficient remedies to remove the difficulties could never be found. They forbear notwithstanding to apply all such remedies as they are able to work this effect; and without doubt they are of great use: For they nominate according to the Apostolical Indulgence, which they enjoy, such persons for Abbots and Abbesses who are thought doe best deserve those places.

There are many, and generally many rich Monasteries in these countries; in particular the Order of Saint *Benedict*, Saint *Bernard*, and the White Friars. The Abbots, and Abbesses have their Lodgings a-

part in the Monasteries, as also their Table and Revenues; and doe injoy little lesse then a free propriety of their goods: And regular Government (as hath been said) is much relaxt amongst them. The mendicant Orders keep indifferent good Discipline; and particularly the *Franciscan* Friars, after having introduced into them some convents of the *Recollectia*. Now that the Reformed *Carmelites* are likewise entred into these Provinces, the Discipline of the *Convents* of ancient Foundation, may perhaps in time also grow better, as 'tis no more then needs. Those of the Order of Saint *Austine* behave themselves well enough, but the *Dominicans* much better. Two other Orders of *Votaries* have of late greatly flourishd in *Flanders*; the *Capuchins* and *Jesuits*, both which Orders have been admitted into all the Cities and principal places; and the good cannot be greater, then that which is gathered particularly from the *Jesuits*; by their institution of instructing youth in learning and piety: And this may suffice for what concerns the state of Religion in the Catholick Provinces of *Flanders*.

CHAP. II.

Of the state of Religion in Holland, and the other United Provinces.

IT will be necessary now to seek out the remainder of *Catholicks*, who have continued in the *United Provinces* after the late war; amidst the darknesse and errors of heresie. At the same instant almost that by their rebellion they flew from the King of *Spain*s obedience, they likewise parted from the obedience of the Catholick Church. The first that took up arms against the crown of *Spain*e, were *Holland* and *Zealand*, as also the first that flew from the Catholick Church. The rebellion spread abroad afterwards in the other Provinces, and they served for example one to another in making the Government of them all equal. They imitated one another likewise in imbracing Heresie, out of a design to oppose the Catholick Religion professed by the *Spaniards*, and by this means, to strengthen the separation from their Empire the more. So as in the uniting of the Provinces, their government past wholly into the hands of the Hereticks. And what was first done by *Holland* and *Zealand*, was done likewise by the other five Provinces, which from time to time joyned with them. I will now acquaint you with the condition of the Catholick Religion in these very Provinces; but I judge it first requisite briefly to give you an account of their Heresies.

The abovenamed Provinces have admitted of many sects. But the sect which reigns generally amongst them, is *Calvinisme*; and of this sect are they who govern. The *United Provinces* chose rather to apply themselves to this, then to any other, because their rebellion was chiefly maintain'd by the arms of *Calvinists*; which were continually poured into them from *France*, *England* and *Germany*. Thus making religion serve the interest of State, according to the custom of other Hereticks, the *United Provinces* did all of them embrace *Calvinisme*; and would have it to bee chiefly exercised amongst them:

them; and that the Catholick religion, which had for so many years flourished amongst them, should for as much as in them lay, be wholly suppress'd. They have also many *Lutherans* mingled amongst them, who are the remainders of that general deluge of *Lutheranisme*, which at the first over-flowed almost all *Germany*, and the neighbouring Countries. Great likewise is the number of *Anabaptists*, and some *Davidists*.

Puritans are likewise there permitted; who are the most rigid *Calvinists*, who will not acknowledge any Authority in their Political Magistrates over the Government of their Hereticall Ministers. And these are all English Puritans, who by occasion of commerce frequent *Holland* and the rest of the United Provinces. These are the Sects wherewith the people of these parts are contaminated in point of religion.

Yet no publick exercise is permitted amongst them but *Calvinisme*; nor is there any other Doctrine permitted to be taught in their Schools. All other Sects are suffered in privat families; which may notwithstanding bee tearmed publick, for they are preached in spacious places, capable of all concourse.

The greatest number of Hereticks are *Calvinists*, who are dispers'd throughout all their Provinces, and their Government is alike in each of them. The greatest part of Anabaptists are in *Friesland*, and in the farthest Northern parts of *Holland*. *Friesland* is also chiefly infected with *Davidists*. The most *Lutherans* are in the City and Province of *Groninghen*; part of them remaining likewise in *Amsterdam*, by reason of Traffick. The English Puritans are almost all of them likewise out of the same respect in *Amsterdam*; and some of them by occasion of Merchandising live in *Middleburg*; So then in all parts, and in every corner of the United Provinces, the barkings and howlings of so many Sectarists may be heard; who do notwithstanding all joyn in opposing the Catholicks, though there be great divisions and differences between themselves; even as ravenous Beasts laying aside their rankor amongst themselves, joyn in turning it unanimously to prey upon the milder.

I will now treat as briefly as may be of the Catholicks; whereof there be great remainders left in the United Provinces, though the same persecutions which were at first begun against them continue stil. But they have not been, nor are they yet so rigorous by much as in *England*, & in other countries, for the aforesaid Provinces are not permitted by the form of their government to use such rigor; and having been always so much busied amongst forain arms, they might apprehend some domestick tumults, if they should have proceeded with too much violence against the catholicks; good numbers wherof are stil amongst them to boot that their government having much of popular in it, and all of them applying themselves to traffick; the correspondency in merchandising & in alliances hath always been very great between the Hereticks and Catholiques: So as the vicinity of blood hath caused love between many of them; and the occasion of Merchandizing hath coupled together the interests of divers others; and by these means the Catholick Religion hath found some tollerable connivance, in the conceal'd and as it were stoln exercise thereof, wherein it was necessary to be restrained in those parts.

Most of the Catholicks in these parts are in *Holland*: The meaner sort of people are most corrupted; and those Foraigners who when the rebellion of *Flanders* first began fled from these Catholick Provinces to the united ones, that they might live the more Licentiously in Heresie. There are many Catholicks yet remaining in the Province of *Utrecht*, and particularly in the City of *Utrecht*, as likewise in *Ghelderland*, and in the Province and City of *Groninghen*; there are many likewise in *Overissel*, and *Friesland*; but very few in *Zealand*; the difficulty and dangers of exercising the Catholick Faith being much greater there then in any of the other aforesaid Provinces. In former times a particular addition to Divine Worship, and Sacred things did abound in all of them; great were the number of Temples and Monasteries in all parts; and the peoples piety generally very great. And the natural candidnesse of their manners was also accompanied with the pure candor of Religion; and women were very much given to Cloister lives.

The Secular Priests and Religious Votaries who live in these parts are maintained by the charity of such Catholicks as live in the United Provinces, and by such means as they receive from abroad. There be many Secular Priests amongst them; but few Votaries. The Secular Priests Supply the place of Curats amongst Catholicks in the places where they live. The most of them as also of the Votaries, are in *Holland*; there being many Catholicks in that Province, and the commerce more frequent; next unto *Holland* most Catholicks and Priests live in the Province of *Utrecht*; *Utrecht* having been long a City of Ecclesiastical Principality, and the people therein having been much inclined to the Catholick Religion, and much given to sacred things. There are but few Priests in the other Provinces; partly, because their number is not sufficient to serve for all places; and partly, because they proceed more rigorously against them in the other Provinces, then in *Holland* and *Utrecht*.

All these Priests depend upon the Government of an Apostolicall Vicar, who was lately instituted with subordination to the Nuncio of *Flanders*; and for his greater authority, and that he might execute the Office of an Ordinary in those Provinces, the Title of Arch-Bishop of *Philippi* was afterwards given him. He therefore runs over thither sometimes, exercising his charge in such sort as he may; but the settled Residency of the present Vicar is in *Cullen*; where by his means particularly, a Seminary of Students, most part of which are *Hollanders*, is to very good purpose erected. This Seminary is chiefly maintained by the alms of the Catholicks in *Holland*, and other United Provinces. And the Scholars there study Religion and humane Learning. From thence they are sent to the University of *Loven*, to study Theology; and are daily sent from thence into these Provinces to husband the Catholick Faith. The Votaries have their particular Heads on whom they depend.

Divers dissentions and disputes have oftentimes past between the Secular Priest, and the Votaries. The Priests have never been so willing as they ought to have been that Votaries should enter amongst them, and have many times complained, that their Faculty was too much enlarged in the administration of Spirituall Affairs; as doe the Votaries on the other side, that the Priests have many times opposed

posed them. So as upon these and some other occasions, divisions have sometimes fallen out between them. But they live now together in concord, their past differences being in a good part composed: By means whereof the Hereticks have sometimes war'd more against our cause, then by the weapons of their own Sects. Heresie then reigns in the United Provinces in manner as hath been said; and on the contrary the Catholick Religion groans under heavy yokes amongst them. But by Gods assistance these groans and miserable afflictions of Catholicks will one day also cease: For it hath been observed in all Ages, that the true Church hath ever flourish'd most, when she hath been most oppress'd by her Enemies. And on the other side all Heresie hath been ever seen to burst in pieces, and perish through its own venome, when it hath ceased to vomit it out.

CHAP. III.

Of the state of Religion in England.

LET us now consider in what condition the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* are in point of Religion: And first, for *England*; 'tis known and acknowledged, that the Catholick Religion did not flourish more in any part of *Europe*, then in that Kingdom, till *Henry* the eighth his Apostasie. No Prince whatsoever had purchas'd more Fame for his zeal to the good of the Church, then the said *Henry*, by the gallant works; whereby he indeavoured to maintain the Popedom against the Forces of other Princes in divers troubles in *Italy*; nor in defending the Catholick Religion against the Heresie of *Luther*, and the Princes who adhered to him therein, in the commotion occasioned thereby in *Germany*. His Book of the seven Sacraments, which he compos'd and publish'd likewise then against *Luthers* self, was a particular example of singular Piety; nor did he think any thing added more to his greatnesse then the title which *Leo* the 10th confer'd upon him of Defendor of the Faith. How he came afterwards to doat upon *Anne* of *Bullen*, and how having first vented his hatred against the Pope, he afterwards separated himself wholly from the Catholick Church, and growing still more perverse, did at last endeavour to suppress that religion which he had so gloriously defended before, are things sufficiently known; and which will alway be the most to be lamented and fatal, which can be represented upon a Catholick Theatre.

But though Heresie took firm root in *England* in *Henries* time, yet was there no settled form of the exercise thereof there. King *Edward* the sixth a Prince within age succeeding him; *Zuinglius* his Doctrine was chiefly embraced. The Catholick religion may be said presently after to receive new life again, and to be again slain in Queen *Maries* succession to the Crown, and her so soon death. After the which, Queen *Elizabeth* coming to succeed her in that Kingdom; that form of Heresie was confirmed which was called Parliamentary; the Parliament having interposed its Authority therein, to the end that that might be the only Religion received in all
part

parts of her Dominions. In the chief Dogma's Calvin was followed; whose sect began then to rise, and increased every day; and in the outward Government the first form of Catholick worship was retained: Episcopacy being continued, together with almost all the rest of the secular Clergy in former times: the antient Ecclesiasticall maintenance was left to the Bishops and the rest of the Hereticall Clergy: as for the regular Orders, they were long before quite abolish'd, and all Monasteries either ruin'd, or turn'd together with their Revenues totally to profane uses.

This form of Government which was introduced in England in the Queens time, is since maintained by the now King. The sect of Protestant Calvinists reignes now there, called as I have said, Parliamentary. The English Protestants are also called by another name *Anglo calvinisti*, viz. English Calvinists; to distinguish them from those of France, and of other parts, where Calvinisme is followed in its more rigid and pure form, as it was taught at first, and which hath been since so largely diffused by the Church of Geneva: together with the Protestant Calvinists, there are also many direct Calvinists in England, whom they call Puritans; both these sects do agree in almost all their Dogmata: but they differ in many things touching Government and exterior rites. The Protestants retain the antient degrees of the same Ecclesiasticall dignities and offices, on which the spiritual Government did depend in the time of the Catholick Religion. The Puritans on the contrary, throw away all supereminency of degrees, and all conformity of ministry with the Catholick Church, and will have the antientest and fittest amongst them to have the only care of spiritual matters amongst them; they do wholly deny the Kings Primacy in spiritual affairs; whereas the Protestants acknowledge the King to be the supream Head of the Church of England, as they term it; thus these two sects do juggle in many things; but the Protestant Profession is that which reignes. Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and next them the inferior Clergy of Deacons, Arch-Deacons, Curats, and others, are subordinate to the Kings supream spirituall Government. There are only two Arch-Bishops in England; the one of Canterbury, the other of York; and 25 Bishops, three of which only are under the Arch-Bishoprick of York; and all the rest depend upon Canterbury: the Arch-Bishop whereof keeps the title of Metropolitan, and is as it were the Kings right hand in the manning of spiritual affairs.

It cannot be doubted but that this King that now is, is an Heretick by his true, stiff, inward perswasion; nay by his learning, and by his pretending in particular to great eminency in Ecclesiasticall affairs, he hath drunk so deep of heresie, as not content to be fervent therein in his very heart, he hath pleased by the tongues of his own books to professe himself publicly throughout all Europe to be a learned professor thereof, and cunning controvertist therein; but it is true that, upon divers occasions it may clearly appear, that he is not fully satisfied with the present form of Heresie in England: certainly if he were able, he would alter many things both in the essence of Tenents, and in the exterior part of Government: he spends most of his time in discoursing upon these matters of Religion; and delights chiefly to entertain himself therewith: he speaks, he disputes every day thereof; and feeds himself continually with the divers praises,

ses, which are abundantly given him, by those who usually dispute of purpose to be overcome: But he would never be able to alter the present form of hereticall practice in England, which hath been so long receiv'd and practiz'd by the publick Authority and Laws of the Kingdom: the King will then follow the Sect which predominates, and endeavour to propagate it since he cannot alter it.

The talk is various concerning the Queen his wife, according to her various proceeding in matter of Religion: before she went from Scotland she gave evident signes of being inclin'd to be a Catholick; and increased them when she came to England; for it was constantly believ'd that at her first coming into that Kingdom upon the occasion of a dangerous childbed of hers, she used the Ecclesiasticall Sacraments: and her being always willing to read Catholick books, her seeming to reverence reliques, her wearing them many times about her; and her treating with more familiarity and confidence with divers Catholick Ladies, who usually did most frequent her Court have always been reasons which have pleaded for this opinion: and as far as her inclination leads her, it seems that undoubtedly she is to be esteem'd a Catholick; at least it may be almost absolutely affirm'd, that she sides not with heresie; for she never professeth Lutheranism e after she once quitted her native Countrey of Denmark, where that Heresie reignes; nor yet Calvinisme either in Scotland or in England; being seldom or never present at the preaching of any of those Heretick Ministers; nor never at the Lords Supper as it is used by the Calvinists: but on the other side she is so given to festivals and dancing, and to all pleasant pastimes, and is of so easie and voluble a nature, as the opinion of her being a Catholick, can only be grounded upon the uncerertain aforesaid conjectures: she still proceeds with this ambiguity, and the opinion of others touching her conscience in religion is alike dubious.

As for the succeeding Prince it is to be feared that he may prove a great Heretick by those signes which of his own instinct he hitherto gives in matter of Religion. To boot that the King hath not been wanting, nor is yet so, in using all possible means of confirming his son in Heresie; nay he oftentimes hath, and still doth serve him as well in place of a Tutor, as of a Father; for he would if it were possible, have his son to succeed him as well in his wisdom and learning, as in his Kingdom.

Concerning the Nobility of England, all that is to be said in point of Heresie, is this, That the chiefeft of the Nobility, unless it be some very few, who partly openly, partly in secret are Catholicks, are generally all of them protestants, and conform themselves to the Kings pleasure: of the meaner sort, of nobility, or of the gentry, the most are likewise Protestants, many of them Puritans, and very few profess Catholicks; but of this sort of nobility many of them are in their hearts Catholicks, though in outward appearance they seem to be Hereticks, that they may save their estates, and be capable of the honours of the Kingdom. The meaner sort of people are likewise part of them Protestants, part Puritans; and the Citizens are generally all of them infected with Heresie: so as the greatest sort of Catholicks of that condition are such as live in Villages, and in the Countrey: and this may suffice to be said with as much brevity as may be, touching the condition of Heresy in England.

I come now to the Catholick Religion: and that you may first clearly understand the Catholicks of that Kingdom, we must distinguish them; some in England are declared Catholicks; whom they term recusants, because they refuse to go to the Heretick Churches; paying such pecuniary mulcts as are imposed upon those who follow not their Heresie; others there are who live Catholickly in that Kingdom, but in secret, not paying any penalties; making therein use of the favour of great personages, and of their own industry; and others there are who are Catholicks by manifest inclination; but who that they may not lose their Estates and Honors, seem outwardly to be Hereticks: great likewise is the number of those in England, who are indifferent in point of Religion, and have no particular sence thereof, but are of all beliefs, and follow only a large moral faith; and many of these certainly would chuse rather to profess the Catholick Religion, then any whatsoever Heresie; so as to number up the declared Hereticks, and who with true fervor and intension do adhere to Heresie in England, 'tis thought (according as it may be conjectur'd at large) that they will not exceed the fifth part of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom; but on the contrary, if you will consider the two first sorts of Catholicks, they will hardly make the thirtieth part of the Kingdom; there being but few who live profess Catholicks under the rigour of the penalties; and those not being many who can live Catholickly in secret, under the protection of great men, or by their own industry, so as the greatest number will prove those who under a large and improper signification, would be called Catholicks, taking the intention for the deed; and those who make no profession at all of any particular Faith, but who if they were to follow any, would ratherest incline to the Catholick Religion; the first of these two sorts are called in England Schismatics, and the other Politicians.

But howsoever, the number of the two first sorts of Catholicks must be esteem'd great; which may be gathered by the number of secular and regular Priests, who exercise spiritual affairs amongst them, by so numerous missions: nor is it to be understood that every Catholick Family hath its own particular Priest allotted to it: for this will hardly fall to the share of every thirtie houses; the Priests being necessitated to fly from one house to another, to shun the storms of continual persecutions; as also to dispencc their spirituall functions now in one Family, now in another, that they may be aiding to as many Catholicks as they can. This Argument derived from the number of Priests, and the Ministry which is by them exercised, as hath been touched upon, may make it appear what the number of Catholicks are in that Kingdom: great must their zeal and constancy be likewise, to continue as they do in the antient Faith amidst so many dangers and penalties. This fervour and this zeal is particularly seen in women, and most in the most noble; they take the Priests most into their care; they watch most how to keep them out of danger; and they read Catholick books more then do the men; and are more versed in disputing controversies with the Hereticks: but 'tis true that women may do all these things more boldly then men, for they escape punishment more easily; yet not long since the King hath much extended his rigour, even to women.

The spirituall Government of Catholicks in England depends then

upon the number of secular, and regular Priests which are within the Kingdom: who keep in divers parts, according to the greater or lesser need of Catholicks. The secular Clergy is governed by one head who is over them all by the title of Arch-Priest; and this Arch-Priest hath under him some assistants, who from divers sides with proportion'd Authority over the other meer Priests, help him to govern. The Votaries or regular, have likewise their superiors, upon whose appointment their particular mission doth depend; which do consist principally in those of the Benedictans, and Jesuits. The Arch-Priests Authority over the Clergy which is under him, is wholly reduced to exhortation, admonition, and reprehension: using for his last means and punishment to suspend such as are incorrigible, from their spiritual faculties, or utterly to deprive them of them: no more rigorous nor better order'd discipline then this can be admitted of amidst so many obstacles as are in all parts met withall at this time in the exercise of the Catholick Faith in England.

There are very many learned and zealous men in this secular Clergy, who partly by composing Books, partly by the blood of Martyrdom, do gloriously maintain the Catholick Faith in England; the Clergy-Priests come from forth those Semenaries which to that purpose are instituted out of the Kingdom in other Provinces, there are two of them here in Flanders; one in Saint Homers, which is govern'd very accurately by the Father-Jesuits, wherein are many gallant young youths; and another in Doway, under the Government of a President, and consisting of the chiefeft Priests of the Clergy: The Students of the first are all youths, and when they have finish'd their course in humanity in Saint Omers, they are then sent to the English Seminarie in Rome, or else in those other three which are founded in Spain, to wit; in Valiadelid, in Seville, and in Madrid; to imploy their studie in Philosophy and in Divinity, under the care of the same Jesuits; those of the second (though that of Doway was first founded) are of more mature age, and in their own colledge read the graver studies of Philosophy, and Divinity. These Semenaries are then as military quarters, where spirituall Souldiers learn their Discipline wherewith to defend the Catholick cause in England; here they are trained and formed, and pass from these quarters to make good so hard and dangerous an undertaking, as to fight so potent adversaries, who because they ground themselves upon an unjust and wicked cause, do use the more force and violence; but they use no less deceit, and confide no less in these deceitfull weapons, then in those wherewith they oppugne our cause with open War. These deceits and cus'nages are diversly practised by them; but particularly in their having indeavour'd sundry ways to nourish those divisions which of late years have begun to arise, between the secular Priests, and Votaries, and to excite also new ones by the new invented Oath of Allegiance. There is already convenient remedy taken for the former; but the dangerous effects which the Oath hath begotten, do not as yet cease, nor is it to be hoped that they will do soon.

The Inventors of this new Engine against the Catholick Religion, propounded two chief ends therein unto themselves: The one that the King might have matter whereon to proceed with yet more rigorous persecution then formerly, against the Estates and persons of

Catholicks; it being judged that many of them would refuse to take this Oath, wherein he that is to take it, must in Hereticall terms denie all Pontificall authority, under whatsoever interpretation or form over the temporal affairs of Princes: The other to cause a new occasion of contention between the Catholick Clergy; it being held for certain that there would not be wanting some amongst the Clergy, who either for fear of punishment, or through lukewarmness in Religion, would be induced to take the Oath, and perswade others to do so too; nor have they fail'd in the former; for many Catholics since then have been punished with imprisonment, and confiscation of Goods, for their constancy in refusing to take the Oath, and many for this cause do daily incur punishment. And as for the second consideration, they have likewise prevailed so far as to see some Priests, and some Votaries who have admitted of the aforesaid Oath, and who straying still further out of the way, have gon about to maintain, that it is not repugnant to the Catholick Faith. But there are but very few who have yet yeilded to the Oath, and those also of the less zealous, and who are least esteemed of for their learning and goodness. All the rest of the Clergy have shewed, and still do shew themselves much averse unto it, as do generally all Votaries: and many of both sorts, with strength of Learning, and undaunted courage, despising even death it self amidst a thousand sufferings; have publicly confuted it, and thereby won singular praise in the Church, and much worship amongst the Catholics in those parts.

Amidst these new storms, to boot with the continuance of the former, doth the Catholick cause float at this present in England. The Queen was more greedy of blood; and therefore the sufferings of Priests and Votaries were more frequent in her days. In this Kings time, they strive chiefly to macerate them as much as may be with long imprisonment, and to cause the Secular Catholics pine more then ever by depriving them of their Estates, indeavouring thus to work their ends by a slow and incurable disease: some are also proceeded against even to death it self, to the end that to their other calamities; that chiefest, even death, may not be wanting, and these highest sorts of punishments which are used against Priests and Votaries are very horrid; their life being taken away by member and member before death ceise upon the whole body: and notwithstanding, amidst confiscations, imprisonments, death, and so many other miseries and sore persecutions, the Catholick Faith is still preserved, and doth rather increase then decrease in England. And as fire is most intence when most shut up, so the lively zeal of Catholics in that Kingdome is the more inflamed, and strengthened by how much greater the obstacles have been which it hath met withall in not being able to manifest and inlarge it self.

CHAP. IV.

Of the State of Religion in Scotland.

I Will now briefly dispatch what remains to be represented concerning the State of Religion in Scotland and Ireland. The King of England was born a Catholick. Queen Mary, a Princeſſe very zealous in the Catholick Faith, and who ſhew'd her ſelf to be ſo by her conſtancy in induring ſo long imprisonment in England, and even death at laſt (Queen Elizabeth cauſing her to be beheaded) was his mother: the King remained an Infant in Scotland; and falling into the Hereticks hands, he eaſily with his milk drunk in the poyſon of Hereſie; and bent his moſt tender years under the precepts and pleaſure of thoſe who had the charge of his childhood; amongſt which in particular one George Bowhannon was his Tutor; a famous Latin Poet and a no leſs famous follower of Calvin: ſo as the Catholick Religion in a ſhort time, began almoſt to be quite ſuppreſt in that Kingdom: and Calvins Sect, on a ſudden like a Torrent overran all places, all Biſhopricks were extinct, and their goods made the Crowns; and the new Hereticall Government was reduced to the ſtricteſt and exacteſt form of Calvinisme; which hath ſtill continued and doth ſtill continue in Scotland; but the King out of a particular end which he hath of reducing the Kingdoms of England and Scotland into one body; and by this means to make his Authority greater in the Scotch Parliament, thinks now to reſtore the Biſhops of Scotland to their antient Biſhopricks; which when he ſhould have done, he would make the Hereſie of thoſe his two Kingdoms more conformable, and by this means ſo much the more facilitate the deſigned Union in other things alſo.

Buchanan

And doubtleſſy the Kingly power would be greater in Scotland by the re-admiſſion of Biſhops; for then they would make a particular member in Parliament; and by the intire dependancy which they ſhould have upon the King, he might upon all occaſions be ſure of their Votes; but this is a buſineſs which is thought will meet with many difficulties, the Puritan Sect having taken too firm root generally throughout the whole Kingdom of Scotland, and particularly in the Cities, who profeſs, as hath been ſaid, the rigideſt Laws of Calvinisme.

During the Catholicks time, there were two Archbiſhopricks in Scotland; the one of Saint Andrew, and the other of Glaſco; and eleven Biſhopricks, eight of which were under the firſt Archbiſhoprick, and three under the ſecond.

As for the Catholick Religion, the condition thereof is deplorable in Scotland; of the chief Lords, there are but ſome very few that are Catholicks; and but few amongſt the Gentry; the greateſt number whereof are of thoſe, who are Catholicks inwardly, but dare not declare themſelves for fear of puniſhment: all the reſt of the Kingdome are Heretiques; onely the more ruſticall People are leſſe infected with Hereſie;

but also more ignorant in whatsoever concerns Religion, that fervor was never found amongst the Scots in endeavouring that the Catholick Faith might be preserved in Scotland, as hath been seen, and is seen in the English, in her behalf in England; and generally the Scots are not much given to Ecclesiasticall profession; but to say truth, they have had but little help of accommodation therein; for except it be some few youths who are maintained in the Scotch Seminary at Rome, and in another of the same Nation here in Doway; no other assistance is given to the Catholicks in Scotland for having of Priests, whereof there are very few at this time in that Kingdom.

C H A P. V.

Of the State of Religion in Ireland.

BUt look how much the Catholick Vineyard wants workmen in Scotland; so much the more doth Ireland abound in them. The people of that Kingdom are generally Catholicks, and almost all of them profess themselves such. Those rigorous Laws against Catholicks, which were so many years agoe establish'd by Authority of Parliament, have not yet had place there. The Irish are by nature strangely simple and rude, and very stiff in adhering to their antient customs: they cannot be naturally more devout, then what they appear to be, towards the Holy Sea: nor by their natural instinct more averse to the name of English: So as if they have not been able to shun the violence by which they were also constrained to receive the Sect which reignes in England, yet they have always retained the ancient Religion as far as the calamity of the times would give them leave. That Kingdom is then generally all Catholick; only in Cities, and most in such as are of most Traffick; some of the Inhabitants are infected with Heresie; but yet in a very small number in respect of the Catholicks, who in the very same places may oppose themselves to the Hereticks.

Throughout the Countrey, all the people are Catholicks, though they live in a great deal of ignorance: of the principal Noble men you will hardly finde four that are Hereticks, and the same may be said of the gentry in those parts. There being so many Catholicks in Ireland, and their zeal being so great towards the ancient Faith, it hath been easie for them to preserve a great number of secular Priests and Votaries in their Countrey, who might cultivate it: The latter of these are almost all of them Franciscans, to whom are added some Jesuits, and some other Votaries of Saint Dominick, and Saint Bernards Orders.

But the Franciscan Order hath particularly been always held in great esteem in Ireland, and many of this Order goe now in many places in their own habits, and keep the use of singing and Chorus, and the form of an ordain'd Government: Very great likewise is the number of Secular Priests; though to say truth, greater Hability and Learning were to be desired in many of them;

sacred

sacred Orders having been conferred upon many in *Ireland*, who were not requisitely qualified. The best are those who have been bred up in Seminaries abroad, which are erected in divers places for this Nation; one in *Doway*, one in *Burdeaux* in *France*, one in *Lisbon*, in *Portugal*, and another in *Salimanca* in *Spain*.

There are four Arch-Bishopricks in *Ireland*; that of *Armagh*, of *Dublin*, of *Cassels*, and of *Toumount*; and twenty eight Bishopricks; nine of which depend upon the first Arch-Bishoprick; four upon the second; nine upon the third, and six upon the fourth. All these Arch-Bishopricks, and Bishopricks, are in the Hereticks hands. Divers Catholick Priests have notwithstanding the title of the Arch-bishopricks. But unlesse it be hee of *Cassels*, all the other titular Archbishops are at this time upon sundry occasions out of *Ireland*; so as all the secular ecclesiastical government in *Ireland*, is now in the hands of divers generall Vicars, who are partly constituted in their Archbishopricks, by the Arch-Bishops now absent, and some have had the same charge in other Bishopricks conferred upon them directly from the Apostolick See; and the Votaries have likewise their Superiors apart.

And this may suffice for what concerns the matters of Religion in these Catholick, and Heretical Provinces of *Flanders*; and in the Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Here then will I end my present Relation; humbly praying God that he will for ever preserve the ancient Faith in these Catholick Provinces of *Flanders*, and speedily restore it to the Heretical ones. That he will please to inspire the King of *England* with such a sense of Religion, as many of his Catholick Predecessors did live and die in. That particularly he may make him therein like to his Mother Queen *Mary*; who is become more glorious by her crown of Martyrdome, then by that which she wore as Queen; That he and all his Subjects professing thus the true religion, the due worship of God may be fully restored amongst them, that the former honour may be restored to the Altars; to the Church the ancient devotion; and that reverence to the Pope of *Rome*; Supream Head of the Church, which for so many former Ages was rendred to him in those Kingdomes.

A Brief Relation of *DENMARK* sent to *ROME*, in a Letter by Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, in time of his Nunciature in *FLANDERS*, to Cardinal *Burghefe* Nephew, to Pope *Paulus Quintus*.

THE last Moneth of *October*, the King of *Spain*, and these illustrious Arch-Dukes, sent a Dutch Gentleman called *Signieur di Paen* Ambassador from hence in all their names to *Denmark*, to condole with him for the death of his wife. His Majesty and their Highnesses willingly embraced this occasion to renew their friendship with that King, and to knit the knot of Amity the closer between them for the future. The Ambassador was entertained by the King with extraordinary honor. He gave him the precedence in all places, and upon all other occasions evidenced how great a value he put upon this favor conferr'd upon him by so great a King, and by these Princes so neer allyed to him in blood. The Ambassador returned to *Brussels*; and I desired him that hee would make me a distinct Narration of that Kings particular person, of his court, Dominions, of their Government, of the Heresie that rules there, and of his correspondency with other Princes. And having made a breviat thereof, I thought it a thing which might not prove disadvantageous to the interests of the Apostolick See, nor unpleasing to our Lord the Pope, nor to your self, if I should acquaint you with what then came to my knowledge. They may rather prove so much the more curious and considerable, by how much they are the lesse known or valued in these parts by reason of the far remoteness of the Countries.

The King of *Denmark* is a Prince of a gallant aspect, of a well proportioned stature, of a very strong complexion, and greatly given to bodily exercise. He is now thirty five years old; and by his wife who was sister to the now Elector of *Brandenburg*, hath three sons living, and some daughters that are dead. He hath but one brother, and three sisters, who are all married. One to the King of *England*, another to the Duke of *Brunswick*, and another now a Widow, who was wife to the late Elector of *Saxony*. As for his gifts of Minde, they are many, and very remarkable. He is a Prince of a great wit, quick and ready at action: So as you would hardly believe he were born under so cold and sluggish a climat as is that of his Territories; for the most part horridly frozen; he is esteemed to be a warriour; and in the present war between him and the King of *Swethland*, he hath always shewed a generous minde, and great abilities to command in war. He is well read in humanity; he is a great Master of the Latin Tongue, and delights much to speak it; and useth very often to write in that Language to his Brother in Law the King of *England*. He speaks Dutch and French well; and seems to understand Spanish and Italian; he breeds up the Prince his son likewise in the knowledge of Languages, who is now about nine years of age, and made him upon occasion of this Embassy, write a Letter in Latin to the young Prince of *Spain*, with offers of much friendship, and

in terms of great observancy and respect. And thus much for the kings own person, and those of his Family.

The Court of *Denmark*, hardly deserves the name of a Kings Court. The state and gallantry of other Courts of *Europe*, hath not as yet gotten into those remote parts, where their manners are between clownish and simple; for building, householdstuffs, number of attendants, and court splendor, the King of *Denmark*, is rather to be numbred amongst the petty Princes, then great Kings; and he himself is of a very familiar nature, far from the ostentation of greatnesse. He oft times goes from one place to another, waited on by onely one or two servants; and behaves himself with great familiarity in private Gentlemens houses; laying aside not onely the person of a King, but even of a great man. Wherein he himself says he hath some particular design; as to shew his confidence in his Nobility, and to reign with love, and not by Force in the hearts of his people.

The King of *Denmark* hath very large Dominions, their vast circuit being considered; but of no great consideration, the greatest part of them being almost everlastingly frozen towards the Pole, and nothing but Woods and huge Mountains in *Norway*. Besides his two Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, he is Master of other Countries, and Islands of large circuit, which are seated so far Northernly, as in some parts they have almost half a years day, and afterwards as much night. The best, most inhabited, and fertilest parts of his Territories, is in his Kingdome of *Denmark*; and all that which lies neere *Germany*. His Dominions abound not much in Traffick; but the Incomes are great which he receives from those who must necessarily passe through the Strait of *Copenhagen*, which is called the *Sound*. *Copenhagen* is the City wherein usually he resides. Here must all such Ships stay which Traffick in the *Baltick* Sea; and the Cities that lie thereon: every Vessel that passeth by there, pays a double rose noble English, besides some other tax which they pay for their Merchandize, which are transported from place to place. He raiseth a great sum of Monies by this Passage, which is the greatest part of his Revenue. He likewise receives much profit by the Transportation of Cattell out of his Countries, wherein they abound very much, and produce very large ones. Great quantity of Timber for the building of Ships, and particularly for Masts and Sail-yards, is likewise extracted out of his Woods of *Norway*, whereof he makes advantage; with all this his whole Revenue is not thought to exceed one Million of Gold.

The Government of the King of *Denmarks* States, though it be composed of a Monarchical Form, depend chiefly upon the Optemati; The Nobility bearing a great sway in those parts; the King can resolve nothing of importancy without them; the administration of justice depends chiefly upon them; and the King must proceed with them rather by intreaty, then command. In fine, the King is rather Head then King; and the Nobles are rather Freemen then Subjects. The common people have no share in Government; as for his Forces, they chiefly consist by Sea, he not having any considerable Land Militia; and in his present war against the *Swedes*, the greatest part of his Army are Foraigners; as Dutch, English, and Scots. The *Danes* are ablest at Sea, that Kingdome having Islands on many parts of it; and consequently the Inhabitants having great occasion to accustome them

themselves to *Marettin* affairs. The king entertains ordinarily between 50 and 60 great ships, all of them abundantly provided for whatsoever belongs to *Marettin* Affairs, and he himself much delights in the study of Navigation.

The Heresie profest by the King of *Denmark* is Lutheranisme. His Country fell into the contagion of this malady, when *Germany* was first infected therewithall: and though this Heresie of *Luthers* begot so many other Sects, and so various afterwards; and that that of *Calvin* in particular be so much diffused; yet never would the Kings of *Denmark* change the first Sect which they embraced; in which resolution the present King hath shewed himself more stedfast, then the rest; The King of *England* hath often laboured to perswade him to Calvinism; and though not in that rigid form as is taught at *Geneva*, and as is practised in *France* and in other parts, but clad in those exteriour Rites, and accompanied with that form of Government, as it is now practised in *England*; yet all his endeavours have still proved vain; for the King of *Denmark* would never be brought to alter his first Heresie; but rather when he hath sometimes suspected that some of his subjects have inclined to Calvinisme, he hath deprived them of all manner of Government, and hath been very severe in keeping that Heresie from being introduced into his Dominions.

The greatest friendship and correspondency which the King of *Denmark* holds with Forain Princes, is with the King of *England*, a reciprocal communication of all weightiest Affairs passing between them. But by how much the King of *England* is greater and more powerfull then the King of *Denmark*, so much the greater respect doth the latter shew to the former. The King of *Denmark* went himselfe in person some years agoe to visit the King of *England*; and before and since hath held the same observancy towards him; and hath kept a special good Intelligence with the Queen his Sister. He kept always good correspondency with the late Duke of *Saxony*, who was likewise his Brother in Law; and doth the like now with the Duke of *Brunswick*. There is not so good an understanding now as hath been formerly between him and the United Provinces of *Flanders*; those Provinces behaving themselves, as he says since the Truce, and since they took upon them the pretended title of United Provinces, with too much pride and arrogancy; to boot that they seemed to favour the King of *Sweden* more then him in the abovesaid war. He likewise complains much that the United Provinces since the Truce, have begun to question the Imposition laid upon the passing the *Zound*, pretending that their Ships ought either not to pay at all, or at least be in some part eased therein. He seems to be a friend to the King of *Poland*, especially now that both their Interests are conformable in the warre which both of them made upon Duke *Charles*, who was Uncle to the King of *Polonia*, Usurper to his first kingdome of *Swethland*. He likewise holds good correspondency with the Emperor; endeavouring to keep fair with the Empire, upon which, part of his Dominions descends towards the confines of *Germany*. His kindnesse is not such with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, whose sister he married, as so near a relation of alliance would require; the house of *Brandenburg* being very neer joined to the United Provinces, and the Elector having seemed to adhere more to the said Provinces, then to him in the

mentioned distastes. He hath no particular interest of Friendship nor enmity with these Arch-Dukes, with the king of *Spain*, nor the king of *France*; yet the Forces of his Country assisted *France* against the crown of *Spain*, in the past revolutions between those two Crowns. And hence it is peradventure, that the Catholick king, and these Arch-Dukes, endeavour now to gain this present king, that they may sever him from the United Provinces upon any new occasions of troubles that may arise here in *Flanders*. Dated from *Brussels* the second of *Feb.* 1613.

A Short RELATION of the *Hugonots* in *FRANCE*, sent to *ROME* from the Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, in the time of his being Nuncio with *Lewis* the thirteenth King of *FRANCE*, to Cardinal *Burghesse*, Nephew to Pope *Paul* the fifth, the seventh of *November* 1619. upon occasion of a general Assembly made then by the *Hugonots* at *Londen* in *FRANCE*.

THE Heresie of our times began in *France*, in the time of *Francis* the first; it encreased, but as it were in secret under *Henry* the second; broke forth in publick, and got strength in the tender years of *Francis* the second; and then encreased mightily, and overrun the whole Kingdome in the Infancy of *Charls* the 9th. It did neither encrease nor decrease much in the Reign of *Henry* the third. The Catholick Religion was rather endammaged then advantaged upon occasion of Catholick League. And finally, *Henry* the fourth, after having come to the Crown by force of Arms; weary of war, and desirous to secure himself the better by the way of peace, did really establish the liberty of conscience, and gave way to other great advantages in favour of the *Hugonots* of that kingdome; whereinto Heresie did first chiefly enter through Faction, and hath since been maintained by Faction. Nor is it to be doubted but that under pretence of liberty of conscience the *Hugonots* have introduced a separation from the State.

This separation appears in two sorts: the one in what respects matter of Religion, and the other in what directly concerns the State. In the first the *Hugonots* have already formed an entire government apart: to the tolleration whereof, through the calamity of times 'twas requisite that divers kingly edicts should concur. In the second it appears that their end is the same; which is to establish likewise a popular politick government apart, which may be as contrary to the temporal Monarchy of kings, as the other is to the spiritual Monarchy of the Church.

Both these governments consist in the gathering together of multitudes: and to speak first of that of their Churches, they have their meetings of every particular Church apart; and of more Churches together, then of those of an entire Province; and lastly, of as many

as are in the whole kingdome. The first are tearmed Consistories, the second Colloquies, the third Provincial, and the last Nationall Synods.

The Consistories are composed of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons. They are more or lesse in number, according as the Churches are greater or lesse. The Ministers duty is to preach, and the chief Functions of every Church are officiated by them. The Elders do superintend in many things which respect Discipline; and the Deacons distribute the Alms. The Consistories sit every week once, or oftner upon occasions; most voices cary it in the resolving of any affairs; which are either such as respect the profession of faith, or Ecclesiastical government, in those which concern the profession of faith, nothing can be resolved of without the consent of the National Synod; but in what concerns Discipline, when the Consistory cannot resolve of it self, it adviseth with the neighbouring Churches by way of Colloquies, and Provincial Synods; wherefore the Colloquies meet every three moneths, or at least twice a year; and the Provincial Synods every year once or twice.

The Colloquies are composed of four, six, or more Churches; and Provincial Synods are likewise proportionably formed of divers Colloquies. Thus then are Affairs managed; from Consistories to Colloquies; from Colloquies to Provincial Synods, and finally, from Provincial to National Synods; which meet usually once every two years: one Minister, and one Elder go usually from Consistories to Colloquies; and the like number of the Churches of each Colloquy, to Provincial Synods: but from a whole Provincial Synod but two or three Ministers, and as many Elders are sent to the National Synod: to the end that the number be not too great of those that must intervene therein.

In every Colloquy a Minister doth preside or sits in the Chair, whose part it is to propound the businesse; and it is so ordered as that sometimes one church, sometimes another doth precede, which is not done onely in Colloquies, but also in Provincial and National Synods; that equality may be observed; which is the point chiefly driven at in all Affairs. In Consistories, voices are counted according to the Persons, but in Colloquies, and Provincial and National Synods, the voices are counted according to the number of churches, and not according to the persons; for whether they be more or lesse that represent one church, they all make but one voice of that church in National Synods, the convocation depends sometimes upon one, sometimes upon another Province. And they are called sometimes in one, sometimes in another Province; according to the conjuncture of times, and the occasion of affairs.

In dividing the Provinces of the kingdome, the *Hugonots* have not observed the usual order of dividing them; but have made many of one; and one of many; according as the kingdome is more or lesse corrupted with Heresie in the several parts thereof. The most infected Provinces lie beyond the River of *Loire*, which divides *France* as it were through the middle; and of those more particularly, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, *Guien*, *Languedock*, and *Delfeny*; at this time then *France* is divided by the *Hugonots*, into sixteen Provinces; and according to this number are Deputies sent to the Nationall Synods, which con-

sist onely of Ministers ; and to the General Politick Assemblies, which consist of three sorts of persons, as shall be more particularly shewed elsewhere.

The Provinces which are divided by them in Form aforesaid are these ; The Isle of *France*, *Burgony*, *Normandy*, *Britanny*, *Anjou*, *Berry*, *Poitou*, *Saint Onge*, *Rochel*, the lower *Guyen*, the upper *Languedock*, with the upper *Guyen*, the lower *Languedock*, the *Sevene*, and the *Vivarese*, (which are likewise two parts, in *Languedock*) *Dolpheny*, and *Province*. In which division you see that four Provinces are made out of *Languedock*, out of *Guyen* one and an half ; and *Rochel* which is but one onely city, goes for a whole Province. Yet this is onely observed in the General Politick Assemblies ; for in the National Synods *Rochel* is numbred only for one single church. The countrey of *Bearn* is likewise joyned in Union with the aforesaid Provinces, but with certain particular advantages ; the Kings Edicts in favour of the Catholick Religion, and the restitution of Ecclesiastical goods, not having yet been admitted of there.

All the *Hugonots* churches in the aforesaid Provinces may amount to about seven hundred ; and accounting one church with another, you may allow two Ministers to every church. *Calvins* Doctrine is professed in all of them ; and to shun the multiplicity and confusion of sects, Calvinisme is the onely Sect which is permitted in *France*. And as for the number of *Hugonots*, estimation is made that of fifteen Million of Inhabitants which are in *France*, there is one Million and better of *Hugonots*. And thus much for what belongs to the Government of *Hugonots* in matter of Religion.

As for the other point of the separation of Government in things which respect the State ; 'tis clearly seen that the *Hugonots* conspire to make a popular Common-wealth Government, which may be directly opposite to Monarchy. At first they had certain places of safety granted them to free them from suspition of having any violence used towards them in matter of Religion. They were likewise suffered to Summon once in three year a Generall Political Assembly to name some Deputies, two of which were to reside constantly at the Court, to manage the affairs of their whole Body ; and to endeavor the execution of the Regall edicts, according to the tenure thereof. But abusing still more and more their sovereigns clemency and goodnesse, they have so altered the face of affairs, as their first palliated pretences of liberty of conscience, is now seen to be by them turned into designs of absolute liberty of Government ; and all matters of Religion, into apparent practises of Faction.

This hath been more evidently seen since the death of *Henry* the fourth ; Father to the now King. For in this Kings minority, the *Hugonots* making use of so favourable a conjuncture, have of themselves introduced *Cerutes* into *France*, according to the custome of the Germane Liberty. They have made their Councils in every Province, permanent and settled, according to the use of the United Provinces of *Flanders*. And finally, they have begun to call by their own authority, and oftner then at first, their general Political Assemblies. In all which things it is evidently seen that their end is to form a particular assembly of Deputies of their whole Body, w^{ch} may likewise be firm & stable, and w^{ch} may continually represent the same body in

Union and Sovereignty, which would be a meer instituting of a Supream Council like to that of the States General of the United Provinces of *Flanders*; by which Council the Sovereignty of their Union is still represented and kept alive.

The *Hugonots* Political Government consists then in the assembling of multitudes together, as doth the government of their Churches in manner aforesaid. In every Province they have a Council composed of three sorts of persons: Gentlemen, Ministers, and people of a third condition; and this Council is changed every three years: In this Council their politick Affaires as they happen from time to time, are handled; and in this Assembly the Gentry precedes the Ministers; as on the contrary, Ministers precede the Gentry in Ecclesiasticall Assemblies; when it may so fall out that any of the Nobility may Intervene there out of some requisite occasion.

But if the businesse be of great Importance, so as it can receive no resolution from any one Province, the Province interessed hath recourse unto the Circuit, and assembles the neighbouring Provinces which belong to that Circuit; and if the Importancy be such as that circuit cannot resolve it, they call another Circuit into their aid, and so another till they come to the generall Convocation of the whole Assembly, when the businesse is of such consequence as that it is to be handled and resolved on by the Interposition and Authority of the whole body of the *Hugonots*.

There are but three Circuits; every of which comprehends under it a certain number of Provinces; and the *Hugonots* have introduced these Circuits, that they may the sooner assemble now one part, now another of the Provinces according to their need, and yet so much the sooner if the General Assembly be requisite. As was particularly seen this year in the businesse of *Bearn*; upon occasion whereof the *Hugonots* went first from Circuit to Circuit, and afterwards assembled together twice in a Generall Assembly; first, at *Ortes*, in the same Country of *Bearn*, and the second time at *Rochel*.

In the calling together, and keeping of their Politicall Assemblies, they observe the same order as they do in their Ecclesiasticall meetings, as well in constituting a President, as in the plurality of voices, and in keeping an exact equality; so as no one Province can have any Prerogative over another. When the time of the General Assembly is come, whether it be called by the kings permission, or by the *Hugonots* themselves; in the Councils of each Province the particular Affairs of that Province are first discust. Then each of them send their Deputies (of the three above said Orders) to the General Assembly; where with common Authority of the whole body, such resolves are made as are requisite, as well in respect of every Province, as of their whole Body.

But in the former Assemblies, wherein due form was observed, the *Hugonots* did onely, as they were permitted, choose their Deputies for three years, till the time of the new Generall Assembly.

To this purpose they chose fixe persons, out of which the king chose two; and this Deputation being made, and their Demands in a few days agreed upon which they were to make unto the king, they quickly were dispatcht, and ended the Assembly.

Now of late they seem to pretend to name only two deputies, at least not to consent to any save two such as they like best, to the end that the King may be as it were excluded from having any share in their deputations: they will have no time prefixt them to make their demands, neither will they depart, or end their Assembly, till they have answer, and be satisfied in their demands: and hence it is, that the Hugonots not thinking themselves secure by reason of these their contumacious proceedings, in the place where the Assembly had wont to meet, (for the place was likewise to be chosen by the King) they have of themselves and their own free will removed it to some other place, where they thought they might be with more safety, and finally when they could do no more, they have brought it to Rochell, which is their new imagined Carthage of France; where they hope or rather dream to found with a formidable power both by land and sea, their already design'd future Commonwealth; but which is now indeed their chief Sanctuary, where they plot a thousand mischiefs every day against the King and Church, and least fear to be punished.

The General Politicall Assemblies are permitted by the King to the Hugonots, from three years to three, when they are had as they ought to be, and to the afore said ends: it seems now consequently that they are tacitly permitted to assemble themselves first together in every Province, that each of them may send their Deputies to the General Assembly: all the rest exceeds the Kings permission, nay contrary to the Orders and express Authority of the King. They have a great many Towns in divers parts of the Kingdom, which from time to time upon certain limitations, the King hath given into their possession, to secure them the more from any violence that may be offered them in matter of Religion, which are therefore called places of safety; to these others have since been added, which are called matremoniall Towns, as married after a manner to the former, and depending upon their Garrisons; no Garrisons being assigned to these matrimoniall Towns. On this side the Loire the Hugonots have but very few Towns; but on the other side they have great store, with greater or lesser Garrisons, according to the quality of the Towns, and persons who command therein; they receive moneys from the King to pay the said Garrisons, which may amount to 60000 pound sterling a year: though all these Towns of security in time of peace, have either no Garrisons at all, or but very weak ones; the Governors thereof turning then their pay into their particular purses: they likewise receive 20000 pound sterling a year by name of an aid, to maintain their Ministers; but but little of this falls to the Ministers share, it being usually laid out in other expences, which regard the Hugonots politick ends; they themselves bearing the greatest burthen in maintaining of their Ministers, by publick contributions, of what may suffice to that purpose: and to boot with these common sums given to the whole body of the Hugonots, the Kings gives about 30000 pound in severall pensions amongst them.

The King hath the naming of all the Governors of all their places of security; but they must be Hugonots: Rochell is notwithstanding any of their Towns of security, nor is there any Governor placed there by the King: Rochell hath a particular Government by it self, after the manner almost of a Free Commonwealth; so as
it

it hardly acknowledgeth any Regall authority : and that it may acknowledge it less, and so grow to greater liberty, it joyn'd at first, and still continues to do so more and more with the Hugonot Faction. But though Rochell be none of their Towns of security, yet is it one of the Hugonots chieft strengths; so strong is the scituation of it both by Sea and land; so strong both by Art and Nature, and so abundantly furnished with all things needfull to make a powerfull and long defence.

By the way of Rochell they keep continuall correspondence with England; by the way of Sedan, a strong Town belonging to the Duke of Bullion; they keep the like with Germany, and the United Provinces of Flanders; and they will now keep better correspondence with the Prince of Orange, he having of late succeeded his brother in that Principality, who was a Catholick; but their closest intelligence is in Geneva; by means of which City they likewise hold intelligence with the Heretick Cantons of the Switzers; and more particularly with that of Bearn, which is the strongest, and lies nearest to Geneva. For what remains, their Towns of security are more for noise then strength, being all of them almost but of small consideration; so as few of them in time of War would be able to maintain a siege: In time of trouble they raise their best soldiers from the mountainous parts of Sevene in Languedock; and gather moneys now by way of contribution amongst themselves, by reprisals of the Kings Revenues, and by all other means which use to make way to the disorders and confusion of Civill War. Their peremptoriness and perpetuall plottings makes them strong: But above all things they make advantage of the discords and commotions which often arise amongst the Catholicks in France, never losing any opportunity which makes against the Crown, either of receiving the turbulent Catholicks into their Faction, or in joyning with them.

The chieft amongst the Hugonots at this time are the Dukes of Bullion, Roan, Tremoullie, and Seugh; the Marshall Diguieres, Monsieur de Schatillion, and Monsieur de la Force; Roan is Governor of Poictou; Diguieres the Kings Lieutenant in Dolpheny, but with such Authority as he may rather be called Prince of that Province, then the Kings Lieutenant; La Force is Governor of the Countrey of Bearn; and the rest though they have no particular Government of Provinces, are yet highly esteem'd of out of many other considerations. Bullion and Diguieres, for their age, experience and valour, are men highly valued; yet Bullion is held to be false, and one not to be trusted in; whereas Diguieres hath always had the repute of generous and faithfull. There are continually jealousies between these great ones; and ambition bears them often to designs wherewith the rest are not well pleased; so as the rest of the Hugonots do not confide much in them: but these jealousies are particularly fomented by the Ministers, as well in the great ones against the people, as in the people against the great ones, to make their own Ministeriall Faction the greater. And this may serve for the second point.

It may then be granted by what hath been said, that Heresie hath introduced in France a separation of State; and that the Hugonot Faction aspires directly to the Government of a Commonwealth, and designs to compass it by the ruine of the Church and Monarchy; but

but God at last confounds the wicked, and his right hand always fights and overcomes in the behalf of the righteous: so as it is not to be doubted but that the Church and Monarchy will be preserved, and the Hugonot Faction consequently extinguished: nay it is to be hoped, that the present King by Divine Providence is preserved (according as his father hath foretold to many) to this triumph. Digui-eres is decrepid; Bullion old and infirm; the other great ones are always at odds between themselves: that mad fervour of conscience so radicated at first in the Hugonots, growes every day less and less in them; and unless it be among the meaner sort of people, who are most deceived, the sence of Religion appears already to be wholly turned to Faction in almost all the rest; which Faction may be said to be divided into three parts, rather then to but one: the Nobility makes one, the People another, and the Ministers a third; and who shall well consider them, will finde that the Hugonots strength never had, nor never is like to have any strong foundation within themselves: out of which reasons it may be judged that these Hydraes heads of Impiety, and Rebellion, will at last be cut off; and that this present King to the great honour of his name, and to the Immortall glory of God, is he who is to be the queller of this Monster. On the contrary, the King is in the prime flowre of his age; and is already known to be a great lover of Piety and Justice; yea that beyond the expectation of his age, his chief aim is to succeed his predecessor Saint Lewis, as well in worth as in name. The Princes of the blood and all the other Princes are now Catholicks; as are also almost all the other chiefeft Lords: the Parliaments are Catholick; the Cities and chiefeft Towns Catholick; and the Ecclesiasticall Order growes every day better in manners, learning and discipline: and lastly it is to be believed that France after so many ages of an United Government, will never consent to the authority of any other then that of the antient Catholick Church, and to that of her antient and Sovereign Monarchy.



A RELATION of the TREATY of the TRUCE in FLANDERS, which was concluded in *Antwerp*, the ninth of *Aprill* 1609.

Written by Cardinall *Bentivoglio* in the time of his being Nuntio with their Highnesses, the Arch-Dukes, ALBERTUS and ISABELLA Infanta of *Spain*.

The first Book of the Truce of Flanders.

THE Treaty of the Truce of Flanders made of late between Philip the third King of Spain; together with the Arch-Dukes, Albertus and Isabella, and the States General of the United Provinces of these Countreys, may doubtlesly be numbered amongst the most memorable affairs of our time. If we consider

der the time therein imploy'd, it was above two years; if the Princes who interviened therein, all the chieft of Europe had therein their share; if the difficulties which were to be overcome, there were never any greater met withall in any negotiation: and lastly, if we will consider the effects which insued thereupon, nothing could be of more importance to the publick affairs of Christendom, then the 12 years cessation of those arms, which had so long troubled almost whole Europe with the bitter Wars of Flanders: It was my fortune to be present at so important an affair, at the beginning of my Nuntioship, the indeavours therein were already begun when I came to Brussels; and some notice was likewise taken thereof at Rome before I parted from that Court; wherefore I received strict Orders from the Pope both by word of mouth, and instructions, that I should watch very narrowly over whatsoever should insue upon so weighty occurrences, and particularly over such occasions as might arise upon such a conjuncture, of any ways bettering the state of the Catholick Religion in the United Provinces. Thus my Princes commands, the Duty of my imployment, and the very business it self which had drawn upon it the eyes of all Europe, made me the more dilligent in observing what had already been done therein. I came to Flanders, (as I have said) at their commencing, when the overture had been made by a suspension of Arms for some months: and indeavouring to be as well informed as I could; I took short notes of what discourses past therein between my self, and Embassadors of forein Princes, and the other chief Officers of the Court of Flanders; I found that (taking the narrative a little higher) that the beginning and progress thereof till my arrival was thus.

Marquiss *Spinola* having the Command of the Catholick Army given him, after the taking of Ostend; the Spaniards labour'd very much to get into the heart of the Enemies Countrey. Their designs were to get some safe pass over the Rheine; and when they should have got footing on the other side, to indeavour afterwards to pass over the Isell, and to carry the War into the very heart of Holland. To this end *Spinola* after having raised the Forts over the Rheine at Rurort, and possesst himself of that passage in the former of the two fields before the Truce; had then advanced farther towards the Province of Friesland, and taken Linghen a strong hold, and Oldensell, a town near Linghen; and in the last field had divided his Army into two parts; had again incamped himself with one of them beyond the Rhein, using all his might to pass the Isell, and betake himself to the taking in of some important place; and that the Count *Buquoy* had indeavoured with the other part to pass over the Vahall, and to take Niminghen, a town which commanded that river a great way; but the climat of Flanders being naturally moyst and rainy, the summer that year did so abound in continuall shows, as by reason of the overflowing of the Rivers, it was impossible either for *Spinola* to pass over the Isell, or *Buquoy* the Vahall, and the enemy had so fortified the banks on their side, together with all those Frontiers, as though the heavens had not fought for them, their own forces, and fortifications would have much impeded the ends which the Spaniards had propounded unto themselves; *Spinola* despairing to compass his forenamed designs; after having taken Groll, a very considerable place; and having made *Buquoy* joyn
with

with him had besieged and taken Renberg; and thus by means of this place, which is of great importance, had made himself master of another passage over the Rhein, much better then that which he had first got. These were the Spaniards conditions and designs; and these were *Spinola's* undertakings in the two last fields wherein he govern'd; and doubtless the events thereof would have bin of great moment, though very far short of the conceiv'd hopes: for respect being had to the so great preparations, the enemys fear would have bin greater then the blow it self would have bin unto them: and in Spain it was thought impossible to continue such an excessive provision of moneys as was that which was disburs't, which was 300000 crowns a month; though double that expence was not since able to hinder the Army from mutinying when the siege of Renberg was hardly ended, a thing whereat *Spinola* was much afflicted; and which made him the more take those things into consideration, which som of the gravest and best experienc'd Councillors or officers had already oft times done both in Spain & Flanders, touching the difficulties and dangers which the war of Flanders carried with it; and the undertaking to subdue the enemy by force of Arms. They discoursed thus amongst themselves. 'That all the good 'they had reaped by 40 years war was, their having made the enemy the 'more strong; more resolute to defend their usurpt liberty; more firm 'in the union which they had establish'd amongst themselves; and better united to the forein Princes who sided with them: That Nature's 'self might be said to have fought always for them, by their bulwarks 'of sea and rivers, and their strong scituations in all others parts; and 'that where nature was wanting, there industry together with their so 'many wel munited places did make amends: that their power by land 'was very great in all things else; and their power at sea, so great, as that 'the crown of Spain had bin much indamag'd thereby, even in the East 'Indies, and was in danger of being yet a greater sufferer by them in 'the West Indies also: what a mass of strength (on the other side) and 'mony must it cost the K. to maintain the war of Flanders; that doubtless 'ly his Empire was very large, but much disunited; Flanders, the most 'disunited member of the whole body of his dominions both by sea and 'land; that the sea was block'd up by the enemies ships; that their passage by land did depend upon many Princes, ^{wh} always caus'd great 'difficulties in their sending of aid, and destroy'd their men more by 'their marches then by their bick'rings: then, how many corruptions & 'disorders had bin rooted in their army? and how could they be remedied during the war, they being the effects which so long a war had inevitably produced? that insted of obedience, strife reign'd amongst the 'nations; that there were now more wives then soldiers, more mutinys 'then years; that their own forces were almost as dangerous to them as 'those of their enemys: and mutenies gowing so familiar, now of one, 'now of another nation, & oft times of many nations at once, what a sad 'day wo'd that be, when the whole army should mutiny together? a day 'which would bring the K. affairs in Flanders to their utmost danger, as 'also the caus of the catholick religion; for the defence wherof the war 'at first was chiefly made, and hath been so long maintained by the 'Spanish side. If then by so many reasons and so long experience, 'war against the enemy were to be esteem'd so fruitless, is it not better (said they) to come to some fair agreement with them? is it not 'better to order our Army anew, and in the mean time to get strength,

' and laying down arms, except what with time would make most to
 ' the Spanish advantage? Arms being laid down, the King of France
 ' already grown old, might in this interim die, and with him that as-
 ' sistance might chance to cease, which was subministred to the enemy
 ' by a Prince of such power and repute: that after his death the af-
 ' fairs of France might peradventure change face, their King being so
 ' young: the like might be expected in the affairs of England, their
 ' King being a new King, and a Scotch man; but ill look'd on by that
 ' Kingdom; the enemy having likewise received considerable succors
 ' from Scotland: and in case any of these things should happen, how
 ' much would the affairs of Spain be bettered? but above all it was to
 ' be hoped that even peace it self might turn to a secret war against
 ' the enemy: that the fear of the Spanish Forces was the bond which
 ' fastened their Union closest; so as this fear ceasing through the en-
 ' joyment of quiet, some domestick evil might arise amongst them,
 ' which might break the Union; and some opportunity in favour of
 ' the King and Arch-Dukes, of regaining some of the rebellious Pro-
 ' vinces by under-hand dealing, and of subjugating the others after-
 ' wards by force.

These reasons were doubtlesly very weighty, and of great conside-
 ration, and had been oft times argued in Spain; whereupon the King
 had at last resolv'd that if he could not effect his ends by arms, all pos-
 sible means should be used to come by some convenient Treaty of
 agreement with the enemy in Flanders: and the affairs of Flanders
 may be said to depend totally upon the King: For the marriage be-
 tween the Arch-Duke and the Kings sister, proving barren, and the
 Provinces of Flanders being consequently to return unto the King
 again, he had therefore chiefly maintained the war with his Forces,
 and consequently all Treaties of agreement were chiefly to depend
 upon his authority. The Arch-Duke inclin'd likewise very much to
 bring things to some accommodation; he being a Prince naturally gi-
 ven to love his quiet, and full of years and experience, might compre-
 hend better then any other the dangerous consequences which the war
 of Flanders brought with it: but it was very hard to find out a way how
 to treat of accommodation. A while since the enemy seem'd to be quite
 averse unto any such treaty; and stil swelling with prosperity & succes,
 they resolv'd never to listen to any whatsoever treaty, till such time as
 the K. and Archdukes should first publicly declare that they treated
 with them as with free Provinces and States, unto the which the K. nor
 Archdukes made no claim or pretence whatsoever: wherein the Arch-
 duke found great repugnancy in himself, and foresaw the like in the
 King. He thought that to declare those now to be a free people, against
 ' whom they had fought as against rebels, would be to confess that their
 ' former war had bin unjust; and that to seem so willing now to put an
 ' end unto it, would be likewise a declaring that they were no longer
 ' able to maintain it; what honor should they lose herein? how could
 ' they with credit treat of peace or truce with their own rebels; and how
 ' dangerous a president would it be, to make liberty the reward of re-
 ' bellion? for such an example in favour of those Provinces which had
 ' rebelled, would be an invitation to such as kept yet their obedience,
 ' to do the like.

This preparation of the affairs of Flanders was in the beginning of the
 year 1607. Father *John Neyen* a Franciscan Fryer, was then at Brussels;
 he was born at Antwerp, and after having tane upon him that religious
 habit, he

he had staid awhile in Spain, to pass the course of his studies there, and by that reason was well acquainted with the affairs of that Court. He return'd from thence to Flanders, and being become Commissary General of his Order in those parts, he kept very much at Brussels: He was very religious, of an eloquent tongue, very well fitted to the nature of his Country, and therefore as well acceptable in privat discourse as in the Pulpit; and much vers'd in the negotiations of the age. The Commissary had some acquaintance in Holland; and by chance a Holland Merchant who was a friend of his was then in Brussels: This Merchant was very inward with divers of the chiefest that sat at the Helm in the United Provinces: The Arch-Duke being at privat Councell with *Spinola* and some others of the Kings Officers in Flanders, 'twas thought expedient that the Commissary should dispose the Merchant to go to the Hague in Holland to indeavour some new Overture of Treaty. The Merchant went; but he found no eare would be given thereunto, till the abovesaid Declaration of their being free States were granted, and that this should precede all other things. The Arch-Duke was sensible of the abovesaid repugnancies in condescending thereunto; yet all the former considerations being again weighed, it was at last judg'd, that it was best to yeild to the present necessity, and that all means should be used to procure a cessation of Arms, and to enter into a Treaty of accommodation.

'If the Treaty should have good success, the success would sufficiently applaud the Treaty; if it should not succeed well, but that they must be forced to continue the war; the making of such a verbal Declaration would not import much: 'Twas added, that to declare that they treated with the United Provinces, as with free States unto which the King and Arch-Dukes laid no pretension, was always to be understood by way of supposition, to wit; as if they were free, not signifying a true and legitimate liberty; which they by their rebellion could never justly come by, nor justly enjoy: which being so manifest, neither did the King nor the Arch-Dukes lose any right which they formerly had to the United Provinces, though they should make a Declaration thus limited.

Sudden advertisement was sent to Spain of what had been discovered by the Merchants means; and all things were again represented unto the King, which were thought likelyest to induce him to give way, that some treaty of agreement might be had with the United Provinces, in such manner as hath been said. The reasons which prevailed in Flanders, did so likewise in Spain, in perswading the King to give way to the Treaty which was desired. Whereupon the Arch-Duke resolv'd to send the Commissary Generall in person, into Holland, to indeavour once more some fairer way of commencing a Treaty, and to yeild at last, if there were no remedy, to what the United Provinces pretended unto. The Commissary took his journey about the end of February; and being come to the Hague, he soon perceived there was no hopes of ever being heard in any thing whatsoever, unless the abovesaid Declaration should precede: whereupon being admitted into the Council of the States General, which is the supream magistracy by which the whole body of those Provinces is represented: he open'd himself thus unto them.

'That the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, and the Arch-Duchess the Infanta

his wife, had always desired to see the Lowcountrys once free from Civil wars, that so many and so bitter calamities of war, might be turned to the enjoyment of a happy Peace. That Peace was the end of War; which not being to be had but by the way of Treaty; they did consent on their side that the Declaration of Liberty which they knew the United Provinces do pretend unto should precede; that it became all good Princes to indeavour all means whereby to cause quiet unto their people, and that to justifie this their so just and religious end to the world, they had willingly descended now to an overture of treaty; and to second the success thereof would be as willing to do any thing that might tend to the good of the weal-publick. This Proposition being well discusst in the Gouncil of the States General, they thought that whatsoever could be desired, made then for the advantage of the Low-Countreys; whereupon they resolved to accept of the offer: and before the Commissary departed, a suspension of Arms for eight months was agreed upon, which was to begin the next May; and it was likewise concluded that the Treaty should begin the next September. The Commissary went from Holland with this answer. Not long after the Arch-Dukes declared by a particular Edict or Proclamation, that they came to suspension of Arms with the United Provinces, as with Free Provinces and States, unto which they did not lay any pretence; the States Generall did also the like on their side: the Commissary did likewise promise that the King of Spain should by the Arch-Dukes procurement ratifie the same within three months: and he did likewise desire in the names of the Arch-Dukes, that the States would inhibit all hostility by sea, promising that the Arch-Dukes would oblige themselves that the King of Spain should do the same: to the which the States after some difficulties condescended: all this was afterwards published by the United Provinces to their people with great demonstrations of joy; and they gave an account thereof to their confederate Princes; but more particularly to the King of France and King of England, from both of which, Embassadors were forthwith sent to congratulate with them. The affairs of Flanders were at this pass when I came to Brussels, which was on Saint *Laurence* his eve, 1607. it cannot be exprest how all men on all sides did rejoyce, in expectation of what the event would prove. Soon after my coming to Brussels the Kings ratification came; to procure the which, as also to give a more particular account of what had past, the Arch-Duke had dispatch'd away Commissary *Neyen*: The ratification came in general terms; and so pen'd, as it was to be doubted the United Provinces would not allow of it: yet *Lewis Verreycken*, chief Secretary of State to the Arch-Dukes was suddenly sent with it into Holland. The United Provinces shew'd strange arrogancy in these Negotiations; and particularly a great suspition of being overreach'd by the Spaniards: whence it was to be believ'd that they would interpret all that should come from that side in the worst sence.

You have heard what the number and Government of the United Provinces are, and how they are seated. How Holland and Zealand are seated in the bosome of the sea, and the other five lye more inwards into the land; these therefore did more willingly give way unto the Treaty at the first, and did afterwards appear more inclin'd to continue it. The principall and Fundamental Law of their Union is,

That

That in resolutions apertaining to the common interest, the Votes of all of them must equally agree; so as their busineses proceed but slowly; they being to be treated of apart in every several Province, and alike uniform consent to be gathered from them all by long and tedious perswasions, as their liberty is in all of them alike; The kings ratification being then sundry times consulted on, and with great jealousies, these difficulties were objected by the United Provinces. That the Ratification came in general tearms; that it did not contain the essential clause touching their liberty; but that the King stiled the Arch-Dukes Princes of the Low Countries; that the King writ himself, I the King, as he used to do to his own Vassals; that it was written in ordinary Paper, and not in Parchment; as is usually done in things of great importance: and finally, that it was sealed with a little seal, and not with a great one; as it ought to have been. *Verreychin* being afterwards sent for in, these difficulties were propounded unto him and exaggerated rather in an insolent then free manner: and it was at last concluded, that the United Provinces would by no means accept of the Ratification in manner as it was by him presented.

The common peoples madnesse is always very great, but more when they are smiled upon by Fortune. They are full of arrogancy, and rashnesse, in time of Prosperity; and as base and abject in Adversity: So as a multitude must either not be treated with at all, or these alternate defects must be patiently born withall. *Verreychin* used therefore such dissimulation as was requisite; and endeavoured to remove their suspicions. He assured them that such a ratification would not have been sent from *Spain*, did not the King intend to make it good; that his intentions were excellent, and that he did vie therein with the Arch-Dukes; he prayed them to allow time for another to come; that he did again promise in the name of the Arch-Dukes to cause another ratification be sent in the same form as was by them desired. The resolution put on in *Holland* was; that the Arch-Dukes should procure a new ratification to be sent from *Spain* within fixe weeks, which should contain word for word the same Declaration of Freedome, which the Arch-Dukes had made in their Instrument, that it should be written in Latine, French, or Dutch, and should be subscribed by the King, with his own name; and to the end that no more errors might be run into, the form thereof was given to *Verreychin* in all the three Languages.

Father *Neyen* was this mean while returned from the Court; hee acquainted them how hard it was to procure the King to send the former ratification, though in general tearms; yet he affirmed that he did verily hope that a second would come in particular tearms. The *Spaniards* knowing what necessity there was to commence a treaty thus with the United Provinces; since no other way would be admitted of. The Arch-Dukes did again signifie this necessity; so as not long after the second ratification came from *Spain*, but it was so penned, as 'twas feared the United Provinces would raise new scruples in admitting it; it contained the pretended declaration of liberty; and all the other clauses that were desired. But in the conclusion this was added by the King; that if the matters of Religion should not be agreed upon as well as the other points, his ratification should signifie

nothing; and affairs should still continue in their former posture. It was also written in *Spanish*, subscribed as usually, I the King; add in all things else according to the former manner. Yet it was believed that these last rubs would easily be removed, by the example of the Kings having done the same in the two peaces which were lately concluded with the King of *France*, and King of *England*. The other difficulty touching the new added clause, was thought the greater. And that word Religion seemed to be immaturity put in; since it might raise jealousies in the United Provinces; as if it were already determined in *Spain* to make Propositions against the liberty of their Government, and against that Declaration which the King at the same time made in form aforesaid. The Commissary and *Verrychin* were sent both together with this second ratification into *Holland*; who in the presenting thereof, made large professions to the States General again, of the great good inclinations of the King and Arch-Dukes towards the common good, and how desirous they were particularly of the low countries welfare.

The States took time to give their answer; and after much consultation, their answer according to their wonted arrogance, was thus: That the Kings ratification was not answerable to the form which they desired; and that amongst other things the new added clause could not be allowed of: since the King knew very well, as did also the Arch Dukes, that the United Provinces were free Provinces, and would always be so, though no agreement were made. That notwithstanding the States would acquaint every Province with the ratification, and would within six weeks make their resolution known: But with this protestation, that they intended not that by vertue of such a ratification any thing should be propounded which might tend to the prejudice of the freedome of their Government, in case that the Treaty went on.

This answer being given, the Commissary and *Verreychin* returned to *Brussels*. Whilst affairs were thus negotiated in *Flanders*, divers interests, passions and ends were upon this occasion discovered to be not onely in the neighbouring Princes, but almost in all the Princes of *Europe*. In *Germany*, the Emperour *Rodolphus* the second, pretended that no Treaty of agreement could be made in *Flanders* without his participation and consent; taking for granted, that the low countries did depend upon the Empire; and therefore no separation could be made therein without his authority: Wherefore he had written some Letters to this purpose to the Catholick King, the Arch-Duke, and to the United Provinces.

The King and Arch-Duke answered him in general tearms; as did also the United Provinces; save onely that they added a long justification of their cause, and of their war against the *Spaniard* till the present. Neither was there any more news heard of the Emperour in the whole progresse of the Treaty. But *Henry* the fourth of *France*, was not so negligent in the consideration of these passages. Hee had sent Embassadors upon this occasion at the first in *Holland*; the truest and most intrinsecal end whereof was, that he might have a share in what was to be done, and specially to cause jealousy in the *Spaniards*, and by this means to induce them to make use of him, and to make him Arbitrator in the differences.

The King of *France* was then in his chiefest greatnesse and prosperity: and enjoyed his kingdome in perfect peace and honour, after having arrived thereat through many difficulties, all which he had overcome with incredible constancy and valour. He considered the Affairs in *Flanders*, after several manners; on one side he could have wished that the War might continue, and that thereby the affairs of *Spain* might still be impaired, even till at last they might lose whole *Flanders*. On the other side he saw himself well stricken in years; his children very young; and that in case he should fail, fresh troubles might in a short time arise in his kingdome, which might chiefly be fomented by the *Spanish* Forces of *Flanders*; that the disorders of those Forces were not so many, but that if the War should continue, very necessity would force them to find out a remedy; nor the danger of their losses such as might not be evaded by the power of so great a Monarch; which made him desire to see *Flanders* without War, and and the *Spaniards* without Forces so neer at hand. Neither did hee like that the United Provinces who were already become so formidably at Sea, might by their growing too great be as dreadful at Land. For the Hereticks of his kingdome could from no part else be better fomented to rebel. The King amidst these various considerations had his eye fixt upon these passages of *Flanders*, and because his authority was very great in the United Provinces, he believed they would never come to any accommodation with the *Spaniards* without his consent.

At the first he seemed to be averse to the affairs in hand; though to say truth, he did not well know what he had best to doe: but hee did this of purpose to enforce the *Spaniards* to put the Negotiations into his hands. Great dexterity and cunning was requisite to the leading on of these designs. He therefore chose for this so important affair the President *Fannine*; a man of great experience and abilities; and one who was then chieflyest employed by him in State affairs. He sent Monsieur *de Rosse* along with *Fannine* (who was sent extraordinary Embassador into *Flanders*) to continue afterwards his ordinary Embassador in the United Provinces. Having both of them exercised their Offices in the entrance into the affairs spoken of, they staid in *Holland*; *Fannine* did diligently observe the whole carriages, and wrought himself every day more and more into the affairs, which still encreased the jealousy of the King of *Spain* and the ArchDukes; who then began to see clearly, that it behoved them to have recourse to the King of *France* his mediation; who already had complained to the Commissary Generall in his return to *Flanders*, that the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Dukes had proceeded so far without his knowledge in the aforefaid businesse. Almost the like passions and artifices appeared in *James* the first, King of *England*, who was newly come to that Crown. The same reasons appeared in him for desiring the continuance of the war in *Flanders*, as did in the King of *France*: for the King of *England* being strong at sea, and confiding in the strength of all his Kingdoms scituation, as also in the conformity of his ends with those of the United Provinces in favouring heresie, he could not much fear their Forces; though they should grow greater. He was the more secure likewise by having *Flushing* and the *Ramechins* in *Zealand*, and the *Brill* in *Holland*, sea Towns of great Importance in

in his hands; as pawned for monies lent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the United Provinces; and for that their chiefest strength consisted in English and Scottish soldiers, who were in their Army. He foresaw he should have greater cause to be jealous of the *Spaniards*, if being free from the war of *Flanders*, they might endeavor to molest him in any part of his Dominions: especially in *Ireland*, an Island which is almost wholly Catholick, well-affected to them, and much dis-affected to *England*.

Out of these reasons it was believed, that the King of *England* desired the War in *Flanders* might continue. But being a great lover of Quiet, and much given to Hunting, and to his Book, and wholly fixt in warring by writings with the Church, it was therefore judged he would not at last, shew himself totally averse to see the affairs of *Flanders* in some sort pacified. To boot that not being able for scarcity of Monies to give any considerable succor to the United Provinces, his power would be but small in perswading or counselling the continuance of war, since he could not much assist it by his Forces. Yet it very much Imported those Provinces to preserve his friendship, were it onely that they might raise soldiers out of his Kingdome. Wherefore they entertained his Embassadors which were sent into *Holland* at the beginning of this Negotiation with very much respect, and treated with them with all confidency.

The King of *England*s end in sending of them was almost the same as was that of the King of *France*: To wit, that he likewise would have a share in the businesse which was in hand, and to enforce the *Spaniards* to make use of him likewise therein. The King of *Denmark* sent likewise Embassadors to *Holland*; as also the Prince Elector Palatin, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Lantgrave of *Hesse*, and other German Heretick Princes; who all of them seemed to shew their good affections towards the United Provinces in so important an occasion. These businesses which were thus begun grew very hot in *Holland*: every thing was in motion, and great was the expectation what the United Provinces would resolve, as well touching the second ratification come from *Spain*, as also whether they would continue or break the Treaty. But of all others Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*s thoughts were most busied at this time. His Father the Prince of *Orange* being dead, he being yet but a youth of sixteen years of age, had got into all his Fathers Military and Civil employments, with the great good will and approbation of the United Provinces. And encreasing no lesse in valour, then in years, after so many enterprises and prosperous successes, his authority grew daily greater amongst them. He had won it by Arms, and he thought hee could best preserve it by Arms. And by means of the publick trouble of war, he hoped some favourable conjuncture might the easilier be opened unto him, of making himself one day Prince of those Provinces.

It is not to be doubted, but that his ambition carried him thus high; for his Father was very neer attaining thereunto; and his own deserts being added to his Fathers, his hopes ought rather to be augmented then diminished. To boot with the Supream Government of the Army, he had succeeded his Father in the Civil Administration of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utricht*, and *Overisel*. His brother Count *Henry*, General of the Horse of the United Provinces, and the Counts *William* and

and *Earnestus*, the one of them Governour of *Friesland* and *Groninghen*, and the other Governour of *Ghelderland*, were all of them of his House, and depended on him almost in all things, so as the whole government of the United Provinces, as well Military as Civil, may be said to be in his hands: and his Domestick power was the greater by his great friendship and alliance with Forain Princes. The Negotiation in hand made nothing at all for his present condition, nor for that which peradventure he had an intention to raise up unto himself. And say he had a minde to have hindred it at the beginning; what colour, or what pretence had he so to doe? Since the United Provinces in the Proposal made by the Arch-Dukes for a Treaty, had gotten all that they desired; when the first ratification which came therefore from *Spain*, proved vain, *Maurice* began to hope well in the breach of the begun Negotiation: and by occasion thereof augmented the common jealousies. He enlarged himself very much and with great fervency in calling to minde their late good successes; so many mischiefs, cruelties, and Horrible Inhumanities committed as he affirmed, by the *Spaniards*, together with many other things. to make all manner of Treaties with them suspicious, and to encrease the hatred which those of the United Provinces always bore to that Nation. And though the second ratification was come in very ample manner, yet did not he goe lesse in continuing to do the same, hoping to make this second appear likewise faulty in many things. The time drew neer of giving their resolution therein; concerning which they had had many meetings; at last, one day when the Council of the States General was fuller then usual by reason of the importance of the businesse, 'tis said Count *Maurice* spoke thus:

'How much (most worthy Deputies) I have always desired the
'prosperity of our Republick, all my precedent actions which have
'made mee appear no lesse my Fathers competitor, then his sonne,
'in her service, may sufficiently manifest. I have not laboured lesse
'then did my Father, in always procuring the common good; and
'if hee lost his life in the publick cause; I have exposed my self to no
'lesse dangers in the defence thereof; and certainly it would have
'redounded much more to my honour and glory to have dyed a-
'midst Arms, then it did to him to perish by the hand of that base
'and detestable Paracide, who so unworthily flew him. None ther-
'fore should more rejoyce then I, to hear our Provinces declared to
'bee free States, even by our enemies themselves, did I not think
'that all these proceedings were but couzenages, whereby more easily
'to draw our Liberties again into their Subjection. I apprehended
'this even from the beginning of these practises; so that, as I have
'hitherto ever aborred them, so do I now abhor them more then ever,
'and think it now more necessary then ever to break them wholly off,
'and to throw back this second ratification with the same resoluteness
'as we did the former. How many tricks, and how many cheats the
'*Spaniards* have always used in their like treaties, is too well known to
'us all. But what need we look after past-times? Hath not the like been
'seen, and is not now seen in these present negotiations? The first rati-
'fication came in general tearms, nor did it contain any thing of rati-
'fication but the bare name. The second is come since, which is likewise
'so defective, as in my opinion it ought in no way to bee accepted.
'Doe you perceive how the King would have it sent in the *Spanish*
P Tongue?

' Tongue ? a Tongue unknown to us, the true meaning and efficacy
 ' whereof we doe not understand ? Doe you observe how he uses the
 ' same subscription as he useth to his Vassals ? Not having changed a-
 ' ny of the other things excepted against. And the addition of the last
 ' clause, doth it not evidently enough shew his pretensions that it
 ' shall wholly depend upon his will whether we shall be free or no ?
 ' As if from the time that the Duke d' *Alba*, (that Fury and Fire-
 ' brand of all the troubles of *Flanders*) and after him the other Gover-
 ' nours had bereft their Countrie of its priviledges, brought forain co-
 ' lonies thereinto, put the whole country to fire and sword, and given
 ' sentence themselves against our liberties, and we had not known how
 ' to defend it by our unconquered Forces ? We then are free whether
 ' the King declare us to be so or no. And our pretence to this declara-
 ' tion is, because it is due to us from all the world, and due to us by him
 ' absolutely, without any conditional limitation of insuing agreement
 ' as he pretends in the additional clause ; so as it is now too well seen
 ' that the *Spaniards* treat with their wonted frauds, and that they would
 ' pretend they can never lose by any whatsoever accord that should in-
 ' sue ; the right which they presume to have over our Provinces ; that
 ' they may afterwards expect new opportunities to oppresse them a-
 ' gain ; it may then be granted, that it is not any publick respect, but
 ' their own particular necessity which induceth them now to come to
 ' agreement with us. The necessity I say of their disorders, which
 ' doubtlesly are so many and so great, as we may expect their utter lo-
 ' sing of *Flanders*. What darkness, what obscurity is it then that doth pos-
 ' sels our senses ? or what hoodwink and untimely wisdom is it which
 ' teacheth us to intermit and slacken the course of our victories, whence
 ' they are nearest and most certain ? their army is in very great confusi-
 ' on, without any discipline, without any obedience, corrupted by per-
 ' petuall Mutenies : And if the war continue, we shall doubtlesly see
 ' the whole body of the Soldiery Muteny, and then their whole Coun-
 ' try will rise. How great a part thereof does there already abound
 ' in our sense ? We on the other side have a flourishing Army, well
 ' disciplin'd, well paid, and well provided of all things. We have the
 ' assistance of *France*, of *England*, and of the greatest part of *Germany*.
 ' We maintain a Cause, then which none can bee more just ; nor can
 ' there be more constancy be desired in our Peoples wills to defend it :
 ' To these our advantages by Land, our other progresses at Sea doe
 ' fully correspond. What greater blow could the *Spaniards* receive from
 ' us, then that which we have given them in the East-Indies ? What wil-
 ' the other prove which wee are preparing for them likewise in the
 ' West ? To this end, to boot with the publick forces, particular Compa-
 ' nies of the richest Merchants of all our Provinces are appointed : so as
 ' when we shal get footing there, to what straits and hazards shal we re-
 ' duce the Spanish Fleet ? On the contrary side, how much both publick
 ' and private advantages, how much honor and glory shall our Comon-
 ' wealth receive thereby ? Our having gon round the Sea where ever
 ' the Sun shines, with so many and so illustrious navigations, and having
 ' made our names so famous by so many and so glorious Victories, will
 ' be the most memorable things spoken of by our Posterity in after A-
 ' ges. The fear of losing the *Indies*, is that which chiefly causes the *Spa-*
 ' *niards* to com to some accommodation with us. Who will then per-
 ' twade us to let slip these so propitious opportunities which now offer
 ' them-

themselves unto us, and see them turned peradventure hereafter to
 their advantage? True Victory lies in the making good use thereof.
 Which not being done, the too late remedy of repentance serves but
 in little stead. We ought by all means possible endeavor not to fall
 into such errors; and not suffer our selves to be deceived by the false
 names of repose and peace, and other specious alluring pretences.
 These are the means wherewith those lull people asleep, whom they
 intend afterwards to oppress. No Lethargy is more mortal then a
 Peace, which is to prove worse then war it self. Our people this
 mean while will grow unfinewed by idlenesse. We shall lose those
 friends which our wars have purchast to our cause. But the worst of
 all evils will lie in the secret venome of discord, which the enemy
 will in this interim endeavour to introduce amongst us; and this sort
 of Plague will be sooner radicated amongst us then driven out. Thus
 by means of rest more fatal farre then arms, our Common-wealth
 would fall into the greatest misfortunes, and the *Spaniards* by their
 machinations quietly enjoy what hitherto they have not been able
 to doe with their Armies in the Fields. But I never was an Orator;
 and as a Soldier me thinks I have spoken more then I need upon such
 an occasion. Nor can I deny but that my particular passions sway mee
 in what concerns the common good, which is now in hand; which
 may notwithstanding all of them be reduced to the implacable ha-
 tred I bear those, who are our implacable enemies; and hope to
 make their power more formidable to others, by the ruine of our
 Republick.

The Authority of so great a man assisted by so many and so forcible
 reasons, prevailed very much with the hearers. *John Barnevelt*,
 Advocate Generall of the Province of *Holland*, and one of
 her Deputies in this present Councell, was one of those who did most
 favour the things which were now in Treaty. His Authority was
 very great not onely in *Holland*, but even throughout the whole U-
 nion; in the service whereof he had ever had the chiefest employ-
 ments, and had therein continually faithfully discharged his trust.
 So as his credit was such at this time with the Union, and his estima-
 tion so great, as he drew commonly most men to adhere to him in all
 his opinions. He desired to see Count *Maurice* his power lessened, to
 the end that the common liberty might be the more secure both at
 home and abroad: though this his emulation cost him afterwards
 his life: For not many years after *Maurice* his Faction prevailed so
 far, as for divers faults laid to his charge, (were they true or false) he
 was publickly beheaded in *Holland*. When *Maurice* had ended his dis-
 course, *Barnevelt*, still resolved to defend the contrary opinion, spoke
 thus:

"Of so many egregious acts (most worthy Deputies) w^{ch} the Prince
 "of *Orange*, of ever happy memory, did, and which have been since
 "continued by the Illustrious Count *Maurice*, the worthy son of so
 "gallant a Father, in service of our Commonwealth, this is one of the
 "fruits we reap, that every one may freely speak his mind in this coun-
 "cel, for what concerns the common good; and if it were ever requisite
 "so to doe, the nature of the businesse in hand doth now require it. He
 "hath certainly shewed great gravity and wisdom in what he hath
 "said: But since the more weighty the affairs are, so much more

" necessary it is to have them maturely debated, I hope it will not be
 " displeasing, if I alledge all those reasons to the contrary as may be
 " considered in so important an affair. We shall differ in our opini-
 " ons, but not in our end; which is the like in us all, to endeavour all
 " the advantage and stability which we can to this our Common-
 " wealth. The Illustrious Count did, if I be not deceived, urge two
 " points chiefly: The one, that the Spaniards do not proceed with
 " sincerity in these their negotiations; and the other, that it is meer
 " necessity which makes them now seek to come to some agreement
 " with us, that they may hereafter finde some more favourable opor-
 " tunity to oppress us. As for the first, I hope that none will deny,
 " but for what concerns the affairs now in hand, we have hitherto ob-
 " tained all that we have demanded of the Arch-Dukes. 'Tis true
 " that afterward, the King of Spains first ratification was faulty, and as
 " such a one, was justly by us refused: but to speak truly, I do not
 " think this second such a one as ought to be rejected: the defects
 " whereof being well considered, do more transgress against the
 " circumstances, then the essence of the ratification which we
 " demand. The essence lies in this, that the King should acknowledg
 " our Provinces to be free, and that he should declare he had no pre-
 " tence or claim thereunto; this, this second ratification doth fully
 " contain, as doth also the first Declaration made by the Arch-Dukes.
 " And in fine, it is the very same which we did desire, except it be in
 " the diversity of Language, and in some other petty things of small
 " importance, and in the last clause added by the King. Faults which
 " in my opinion cannot be held any ways essential. First, how can it
 " be doubted but that the true sense and meaning of the *Spanish* tongue
 " must be understood by us? Here, where the frequent commerce of
 " so many of our Cities with all the Principall Cities of *Europe*, makes
 " all Languages common and known? To boot that the Arch-dukes
 " Deputies affirm and give it under their hands that it is in the same
 " Language, with the same Subscription, and alike in all other things
 " to the ratifications of peace between the Crown of *Spain*, and those
 " of *France*, and *England*. Ought we to pretend to more then what
 " was then done to two so great Kings? The greater difficulty
 " would lye in the additionall clause, if it were not evidently known
 " that it were to be understood, though it were not exprest; since
 " how can it be denyed, but that if no agreement should bee made
 " both parties would continue in their former rights? To wit, the
 " *Spaniards* in what is grounded upon violence; and wee in what is
 " grounded upon so known Justice. But say the *Spaniards* after some
 " agreement made, should pretend a Title of right over us, tell me
 " I pray you, wherein could our affairs be therein prejudiced? Should
 " they peradventure, be Judges in such a cause? In such a case re-
 " course must be had to the Tribunal of the whole world; and each
 " party to the favour of their friends; or rather to the Tribunal of
 " Arms, where Armies pronounce sentence, and for the most part
 " the justice of the cause gives the victorie. It imports but little then
 " whether their ends be sincere or fraudulent in case of agreement;
 " for then they cannot oppress us by their forces. We must above all
 " things endeavour to secure our selves from this danger, which neces-
 " sarily consists in one of two remedies; either in continuing the war

"out of hope that their necessity will daily grow greater; or else in
 "ending it by some accommodation, after which our affairs might
 "be better secured. And from hence I come to the second point.
 "I deny not but that their present disorders and necessities are great;
 "but I cannot think them past remedy so far, but that if the war in-
 "dure the Spaniards may finde sufficient forces to do it. I for my
 "part finde the Monarchy of Spain to be the same thing that it hath
 "always been, during the whole course of this war; nay rather increa-
 "sed in this interim by the addition of the Kingdom of Portugall, and
 "of the East-Indies, which depend thereupon. I finde it to be very
 "strong both at land and sea: Where hath the formidableness of
 "their forces been better seen then here in Flanders? What other
 "power hath at any time maintained so long, so far distant, so hard
 "and so expencive a war? And shall we believe that the Spaniards
 "cannot still maintain it? and that they are not likely to finde a reme-
 "dy for their disorders in these parts; and for any hazard they may
 "run in the East-Indies? the very necessity of making war, will doubt-
 "lessly furnish them with means enough to continue it. So then we
 "are again ingaged in war; in a new and more obstinate war then the
 "former: and what security can we have that fortune will always fa-
 "vour us? we have likewise our necessities; and if they be at pre-
 "sent great amongst the Spaniards, remember I pray you that they
 "have been greater amongst us: and that all humane things being
 "subject to alteration, and the events of war usually very uncertain;
 "the times may prove propitious again to them, and averse to us.
 "Do not we know how much our war depends upon the aids from
 "France and England? May not the King of France die? Is he not
 "already very old? may not the Kingdom afterwards alter? and shall
 "not we then be deprived of all succour from thence? Do not we
 "likewise know upon what fickle terms the affairs of England stand?
 "The King being a Scotch man, a stranger in that Kingdom, and therie
 "being many other occasions which may cause some fear of alterat-
 "on on his side? how much would the affairs of Spain be bettered
 "by any of these accedents? how much worse would ours be? We
 "ought then to be taught by all reason, and by all the rules of good
 "Government, not to let slip this happy conjuncture of coming to
 "some good agreement with the Spaniards. Fortune is flitting, incon-
 "stant, disdainfull, and exceeding apt to be provoked: 'Tis now the
 "time to know how to lay hold of her: So as my opinion is, that by
 "all means we ought to accept of this ratification come from Spain,
 "and proceed on to some Treaty of agreement: I confess it is not
 "always in the power of man to enjoy the happiness of peace; but I
 "verily believe it is now in our power to shun the dangers of war;
 "which in my opinion ought by all means to be indeavoured: and
 "certainly we may hope for great advantages from the Spaniards by
 "this accommodation which they do so much desire to make with
 "these our Provinces in this their present necessity: As all Pylots
 "prefix the haven for their end, all travelers their Countrey, and
 "all motion rest; so all war hath peace for its end, wherein consists
 "mans chiefeft happiness; and shall the war of Flanders be the only
 "thing which shall never have an end? and shall all our most advan-
 "tagious successes, depend always upon the so uncertain events of
 "war?

" war? We shall be free from these uncertainties, and from so many
 " dangers which troubles bring with them, by reducing our selves at
 " last to a quiet condition : we shall then much better re-order the
 " Government of every of our particular Provinces, and of the intire
 " body of the Union, when we shall be in a quiet condition : This
 " our Commonwealth will then break forth from out the duskishness
 " and horror of Arms : which how wonderfull a sight will it be, and
 " what unacustomed praises will it produce in the Theatre of the Uni-
 " verse? when it shall be seen how our Provinces do unite themselvs
 " in one body; with what sort of Laws and Magistracy they conspire
 " together; how unwounded the Liberties of each of them remain,
 " and how uninjur'd it passeth through every one of them, as through
 " so many veins to the entire body of their general Union. We shall
 " have Ambassadors sent to congratulate with us from all parts; who
 " will return rather envying then rejoycing at this our so great felici-
 " ty. We shal pay the debts we have contracted abroad: we shal ease our
 " selves of those we have here amongst our selves; and we shall in-
 " rich our treasury, by taking off so many and so grievous expences :
 " Our people shall then know that they are truely free, when they
 " shall enjoy Liberty without any contestation : and being once got
 " into such a condition, what need we fear to be at any time reduced
 " under the yolk of that proud, cruel, and Tyrannicall Spanish Go-
 " vernment.

Barneveldt was list'ned unto with much attention : and the reasons
 alledged by him, appeared to be so weighty and wisely grounded, as
 after some other consultations, it was at last resolved on by the States
 General, that they would accept of the ratification: yet there was much
 adoe before Zealand could be brought to joyn in this Vote, so abso-
 lute Authority had Count *Maurice* in that Province; whereof he was
 not only Governor, but had a great estate there, and enjoy'd such
 prerogatives, as he appear'd rather to be Prince then Governor of
 that Countrey. The Arch-Dukes were then acquainted with this
 the States Generals resolution, and 'twas almost in the same words
 which were us'd in the answer which was first given to the Commissary
 and *Verreychin* when they brought the ratification into Holland. And be-
 caus the term for suspension of arms was already expir'd, it was by both
 sides prorogued, and continu'd to be so from time to time in new terms,
 till the end of the Treaty, which was after concluded. I thought
 good to incert this in this place, to shun the tedious repetition of the
 same things sundry times. Now all the eyes of Flanders were fixt
 upon what Deputies the Arch-Dukes would chuse to send, according
 to the first agreement, into Holland. The greatest weight of the Spa-
 nish affairs which were agitated in Flanders lay upon the Marquis
Spinola, Camp-master-general of the Army, and upon *Manchichidor* the
 Spanish Secretary of War, and as for the Arch-Dukes business, *John*
Richardotto, President of the Privie Councell, and *Verreychin* so oft na-
 med before, were chiefly trusted therewith. These four were cho-
 sen for Deputies, and Father *Neyen* was added for a fift, as one who
 had hitherto had a great hand in the business. Marquis *Spinola* was
 already got into great Authority by reason of his so many Impley-
 ments and Trusts. He was Camp-master-general and Governor of
 the Army; Administrator, or Pay-master General of the Kings mo-
 neys:

neys: of the Councill of State in Spain; and through his hands all the Kings affairs in Flanders, as hath been said, did chiefly pass: and the Arch-Duke likewise seemed to put much confidence in him. Indeed a States man of singular judgment and valour, of incredible vigilancie and industry in the managing of whatsoever business either Military or Civil; and indowed with so many other gallant parts, as he had reason to be esteemed one of the greatest Statesmen that the Crown of Spain hath had these many years. The Secretary *Mancicidor* was likewise highly esteemed of, for his long experience in the affairs of Flanders: for he had been Secretary of war, even from the time that the Arch-Duke whilst he was yet Cardinall, was come to the Government of those Provinces. In the affairs which belonged properly to the Arch-Dukes: The President *Richardetto* was no less esteemed of; he had for a long time been the man chiefly employ'd in affairs of greatest importance by the Duke of Parma, and other Governors: and the Arch-Duke, being made Prince of the Lowcountreys, chose him particularly to employ in making the last peace with France, and the like with the King of England; so as almost all the important business of the Countrey passed through his hands. *Verreychin* was likewise present at the making of the two abovenamed Peaces, and had long before exercised the place of first Secretary of State, and was always held a man of great wisdom and integrity. Enough hath already been said of the Commissary General and of his indowments. But when the Spaniards who were in Flanders, understood who the Deputies were, and that they were to go to the enemies own homes to treat of agreement with them, it is not to be believed how much they storm'd, and how much they complain'd of the Arch-Dukes in particular.

'Are the affairs of Spain (said they) come to so low an ebb, that
'our King must abase himself thus? hath so much time, blood and trea-
'sure been spent against the traiterous rebels to bring things to this
'end? That the affairs of Spain were now in as glorious a condition as
'ever, but that there wanted fitting instruments in Flanders to ma-
'nage them: That the Arch-Duke had always shewed himself to be
'better at peace then at war, and that now that he saw himself not
'likely to have any children, his only desire was to spend the remain-
'der of his days in peace and quietness: that it was impossible so great
'a Monarchy should be without a war; nay it was to be desired that
'it should always have an Army in the fields for its service. And what
'other more fitting Theatre could there be found for the seat of its
'Arms then Flanders? a place so Opulent and of such extent? and
'placed in the midst of Spains chiefest enemies and maligners? that if
'the war could not be always so plentifully maintained, their forces
'might be lessened, and consequently their expences: that thus the
'vigour of so great a Monarchy might be preserved even to eternity.

The Spaniards broke forth into these complaints, and sent them from Flanders into Spain, but to no purpose: for it was then seen, as also during the whole Treaty, that the King and the Arch-Duke did always jump in their opinions: And as for the Deputies going into Holland; without all doubt it might seeme in all appearance no ways to agree with the Kings, and Arch-Dukes dignity: but the form of the Government of the United Provinces considered, no other manner of negotiation could well be had; for their Deputies were so

so many, that Commissions so bounded, and so many sendings to and fro, as they were enforced to make orders: to receive new orders, and new Consents from every Province, which if it had been to be done out of their own Countrey, the Treaty would never have had an end: and though afterwards, as you shall hear, it was concluded in Antwerp; 'twas because all things were already digested, so as they went thither as it may be said, to a business already concluded. The Deputies departed about the end of January 1608; and being come into the United Provinces, they were received by the Governors of their Frontier Towns with all honour, and bravely lodged in all places. They came to the Hague the first of February; and were met half a league without the Town by Count *Maurice* of Nassaw accompanied by the other Counts of his House, and all the chief men of those parts.



The Second BOOK of the TREATY of the TRUCE
of *FLANDERS*.

HOLLAND is the greatest, richest, and best peopled Province of all the United seaven: nay it so far exceeds all the rest, as it furnisheth half the moneys which are issued out by the whole seaven Provinces. It is made by the sea, and sundry rivers a Peninsola, it is in compassed on many sides by the sea, cut through in many parts by rivers: many channels cut by hand joyn with these rivers, and there be many lakes within it: so as it may be doubted whether it consist more of land or water. Besides, it doth so abound with shipping of all sorts, as it may likewise be questioned, whether the number of moveable Habitations on water, or of Houses fixt on land be the greater. This Province is full of Cities, and of a great many lesser Towns. Amsterdam is its chiefest City, and here is the greatest Traffick, not only of Holland it self, but lamost of the whole North: of all its Towns Hague is the principall, an open Village; but so large, so well peopled, and so delicious as it may compare with many Cities. Here did the Counts of Holland formerly build a Palace for themselves to live in, which the United Provinces do now make use of for the meeting of their Councils which depend upon the Union. Here likewise the Councell of the States General do meet almost every day; wherein things of greatest importance are agitated and resolved by the Deputies of the whole seaven Provinces. The chief affairs of the whole Union are then handled in the Hague; and here staid the Catholick Deputies to give a beginning to the Treaty: Before they arrived, the United Provinces had likewise chosen their Deputies; one was chosen for every Province, and two of the best of blood amongst them, in the common name of them all. And these were Count *William* of Nassaw, full Cousin German to Count *Maurice*, and Min here *Bredrode*: for Holland, *Barnewelt* was named, and by him the business on the behalf of the United Provinces was chiefly to be agitated. At their first meeting, nothing was done but the producing of the credential Letters on all sides: they then

then began to discuss affairs with an intention to come to a perpetuall peace if it were possible. The United Provinces offered one Article in the first place, wherein they pretended, that the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes, should acknowledge them to be absolutely Free States, and should at large renounce all right or claim which might be pretended unto by them or any of their successors, to, or over those Provinces, with an obligation not to make use of their Arms or Titles, or whatsoever other appearance. This last addition appeared too arrogant to the Catholick Deputies, who complained very much thereof to the Embassadors of France and of England, with whom from the beginning they had had communication in what concern'd the Treaty: alledging,

‘ That it was an usual thing amongst Princes, still to retain the Title of States or Kingdoms, though they were lost, or but pretended to, whereof there was examples in the greatest Kings of Christendom. That the Catholick King, stiled himself King of Hierusalem, and Duke of Burgony; the King of France, King of Navar; and that the King of England did still keep the Title of King of France: That the United Provinces would be they alone who would introduce new Laws in the world, and not content to pass from rebellion into liberty, would pretend, as it were by usurpation to such and so rash advantages: in fine, that this was a cause common to all Princes, and wherein they were all by this one act injur'd.

The answer which the Catholick Deputies gave hereunto was, that they had no Authority to admit of the Article in manner as was desired: That they would acquaint the Arch-Dukes therewith, and expect their Answer; but the Embassadors thought these their complaints to be artificials, they imagined that the Catholick Deputies meant to inder the said renuntiation as much as they might; that they might the easlyer induce the United Provinces to give way on their parts in other things, in which opinion they were confirm'd by the Answer which came from Brussels, which was, that the Arch-Dukes would consent to the Article in the same manner as it was propounded, if the United Provinces by acknowledgement of so great a benefit, would in lieu thereof abstain from their sailing into the Indies. The United Provinces seem'd to be as much moved by this answer, and their Deputies made equall complaints thereof to the Embassadors of their confederate Kings and Princes.

‘ What do the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes grant (said they) more then what the United Provinces do already possess? that what should be granted by the King and Arch-Dukes was nothing but winde, and a bare Title; whereas if the United Provinces should give over their sailing to the Indies, they should deprive themselves of the principal and most important part of their Traffick. That they had begun and would continue that their Navigation, which by the Laws of Nature, and right of Nations is allow'd to all men. That some other thing might be thought upon which in this point might give recipocall satisfaction to both sides: But that they should exclude themselves from sailing into the Indies, was neither to be thought on nor hoped for: and why ought not the spoiles of that new world be common to all? That it was of that immence vastness, as more thereof was undiscovered, then discovered as yet: and

‘ and that the right of the occupiers in those parts, differ’d only in the
 ‘ better knowing how to manage what they possess.

Both parties argued this point touching the East-Indies with great stiffness and pertinacity; nor would the Catholick Deputies ever discede from their first answer. At last the Deputies of the United Provinces made three Propositions: The first, that according to the nature of all peaces, Commerce might be free both by sea and land to both parties. The second, that for the space of seaven years, the United Provinces might continue their Navigation to the Indies, and that one year before the expiration of those seaven years some new composition might be made. The third, that upon the insuance of peace, and due observation of all things on this side the line, the United Provinces might at their own peril continue their Navigation on the other side. The Catholick Deputies were not pleased either with the first or the third propositions. Not with the first, because it left the United Provinces absolutely free to Traffick in the Indies: Not with the third, because they saw a peace mixt with hostility was not likely to last. They did not appear to be totally averse from the second, so as they would now agree, that when those seaven years should be ended, the United Provinces should for ever forbear from their Navigation to the Indies. To this their Deputies would by no means consent; this point of the Indies was much stood upon, and the difficulties thereof enlarged by the particular Company of Merchants in the United Provinces which Traffick into those parts. The Company was chiefly composed of the Merchants of Amsterdam, and of Middleburgh: and one was sent in the name of that Company to the Hague, to shew how great the gain was which they made by their Trafficking in the East-Indies, and how much the continuation thereof did import in other respects.

‘ They alledged that they had already introduced commerce in sundry parts of those Countreys; that many were the friendships and confederations which they had established there; and that those seas were already frequented by above 150 of their Vessels, and by above 8000 of their Mariners and Soldiers; that great was the gain of particular men, and the advantage no less which the publick received thereby: that to keep so many of the baser sort of people imploy’d who would be always troublesome, when at quiet, what was it but to purge the Republick of so much ill blood, ready to grow corrupt? That the Navigation of the United Provinces into the Indies had already made Lisbon groan; that the Merchant Towns of the Portugueses in those parts went to wrack; and that their ships were seen to go and come much posselt with fear and apprehension: and were inforced to be at much greater expence then formerly, for they had wont not to be greatly vigilant in that their Voyage, not meeting with any contestation, save from the Seas and wind.

These and many other considerations were represented by the Company to keep the United Provinces from consenting to the Spaniards demands touching the Indies: So as both parties adhering to their opinions, nothing was done therein. The Catholick Deputies resolved therefore to send Father *Neyen* into Spain to acquaint the King with what past; and particularly to receive Orders for what they should do concerning the Indies; having first declared to the other

other Deputies that they had no Commission to conclude any thing in that business. They told them also, how that the Commissary should be back within two months; whereupon he suddenly took his journey for Spain: and I to shun the tedious prolixity of the less important affairs, will here mention only things of greater moment, wherein their differences consisted. The King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes, to shew their ingenuity, and the more to honest all conclusion of agreement, desired that the exercise of Religion might be left free throughout all the United Provinces: towards which I had not been wanting, but particularly before the Deputies went for Holland, had prest the Arch-Dukes much therein: and certainly the United Provinces should by all Rules of good Government, of their own accord have indeavoured to give the Catholicks, who were in no small numbers amongst them, satisfaction: but the hatred to the Catholick Religion prevailing on the one side with the leading Hereticks, and the suspicion that this was the more to oblige the Catholicks which were amongst them, to the Spaniards on the other side it was to be believed they would not consent to any thing in favour of the Catholicks. The second chief point, was that which concern'd commerce; The United Provinces would have had it absolutely Free; and the King and Arch-Dukes would have the Indies excepted, and desired that many insufferable Taxes might be taken off, to which the Merchandizes were subject in Zealand, which were necessarily to pass from thence to Antwerp, and which every day much lessened the Traffick of that City. The other chiefest affairs consisted in the exchange which was to be made of divers Towns and other places, which the one side were Masters of, in the others Country; in the adjusting of confines; in contributions which were paid in several parts by those whose habitations confin'd on both sides, to free themselves from Military incursions: in the restitution of goods confiscated in the time of Warre: and in other the like things of Justice. They treated sometimes of one of these, sometimes of another, but very leisurely; for great difficulties were met withall in all of them, without coming to any resolution. The point of exchange of places, was in particular much argued: The United Provinces were possess'd of Sluce in the Province of Flanders, together with the Island Cassant, which is but of small circuit, but commodious for the unlading of goods; having in it some Forts.

They likewise were Masters of Breda, Bergen-ap zone, and saint Gettringberg, all of them strongly scituated both by Nature and Art in Brabant; together with some lesser places, fortified likewise.

On the contrary the Arch-Dukes had Linghen, Groll, and Oldensell beyond the Rheine toward Friesland: Linghen is a very strong Hold, and the other two, places of good consideration. The Arch Dukes would have desired to have changed these three places, with those which the United Provinces had in Brabant and Flanders.

And because that which was possess'd by the United Provinces, was much the greater and better part, it was thought that the Arch-Duke to make the change more equal, would willingly have quitted unto them all the rest which they

were masters of in *Ghelderland*, or at least the greatest part thereof. Long dispute was had upon this Article, but to no purpose; for it was not possible ever to agree upon it. And with the same difficulties and prolixity they proceeded likewise in the other Affaires. This meane while the time was expired wherein the Commissary was to return from *Spain*; who did not onely not appear, but not any newes was heard of him: whereupon the United Provinces grew very jealous, and their Deputies began publickly to complain thereof. The King of *France* was all this while very attentive upon the proceedings in *Holland*; and to make the Spaniards the more jealous, he was easily perswaded upon this occasion to make a new League with the United Provinces. The Contents whereof was, That in case the Peace now in Treaty should succeed, the King of *France* should be bound to assist the United Provinces with 10000 paid Souldiers, to make the Spaniards the better keep it: And that they on the other side should give the King of *France* 5000 paid Foot in case the Spaniards should make War upon him. The Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors which were at *Paris*, quarrell'd with the King hereupon; but hee justified it with diverse pretences, and shewed how that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-dukes should rather be beholding to him therein, as a business which might the easlyer facilitate the Peace of *Flanders* which was in Treaty. These artifices were not unknown in *Spain*, and it was every day better seen, that no agreement would ever be made with the United Provinces, without the King of *France* his Interposition and Authority. To the end then that he might obtain his mediation upon this occasion, the King of *Spain* resolv'd though upon other pretences, to send *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the chief Lords of *Spain*, into *France*.

And this was thought then the fitter to be done, because the King of *France* at the same time had sent for President *Jannines* to *Paris*; with whom advising upon the Affairs of *Holland*, and the King resolving upon the aforementioned things which might make him desire to see the affairs of *Flanders* settled; he sent him suddenly to the *Hague*. But *Jannines* grew quickly to despaire of seeing any Peace concluded. He found the business more perplext with difficulties then before, and the mindes of both Parties more exasperated. The United Provinces could not tolerate the Spaniards slowness; for the Commissary did not appear at all, nor was there any news heard of what hee had done in *Spain*. Whereupon their Deputies resolved to know directly the King of *Spain*s finall intention touching the Indies, which when they should not know, presently to break off the Treaty; and this they prest upon the Catholick deputies with much instancy, who made them this Answer:

‘ That the King desired a happy end of the begun Treaty, and that he would at last condescend to that renunciation which they desired, and in manner as was by them propounded: But that on the other side, he expected that in requitall of so important an *Affaire*, they should forbear going to the Indies; and that moreover they should permit liberty of conscience to the Catholicks within their Provinces. That the Commissary was already dispatch'd from the Court with this answer; and that they had already received orders to acquaint them the United Provinces therewithall.

This Answer quite overthrew all hopes of Peace. The United Provinces

vinces had put on an unalterable Resolution neither to abandon the Indies, nor yet to admit the Catholick Religion amongst them. Whereupon having heard this, they in Writing did presently declare the Treaty broken, and presented the Writing to the Catholick Deputies. The Treaty of Peace being thus faine to the ground, it remained to see whether they might the easilier compass a long Truce. The King of *England* had all this while seem'd rather averse then otherwise to the Negotiation in *Holland*; and having the same ends which the King of *France* had, to raise Jealousie in the *Spaniards*, as hath been said, hee also made use of the same meanes. In imitation of the King of *France*, and almost after the same manner, hee had at this time made also a new League with the United Provinces; and though his Authority was nothing near so great with them, yet was it such, as it might much impede the proceedings of the new Treaty for a long Truce: And hee had already complained to the Spanish and Flemish Ambassadors who were resident in *England*, that the King of *Spain* had sent Don *Pietro de Tolledo* to *Paris*, putting thereby so great an esteem upon the King of *France*, and that he had made no manner of Address at all to him. For these respects the King of *Spain* resolved to send likewise Don *Fernando Giron* who was then in *Flanders*, and who was one of the chiefest Commanders in his Army to the King of *England*; who seemed to bee very well satisfied therewith; and made large promises to intercede for the continuing of the Negotiation in *Holland*, being thereunto perswaded by his naturall Addiction to peace, as also for the aforesaid Reasons. Before the Catholick Deputies departed from *Holland*, the Ambassadors of *France* and *England* began to set again on foot this new Treaty of a long Truce: Inasmuch as the Ambassadors meeting one day, *Jannines* in the name of both the Kings made this ensuing Proposition in the Councell of the States Generall:

‘ That both their Kings had alwayes considered the Affaires of the
 ‘ United Provinces, as their own particular concernment, having
 ‘ maintained them all this while as such by their Councils, and defended them by their Forces; but that the end of War must bee Peace;
 ‘ That to this purpose the United Provinces had been assisted by both
 ‘ of them; and that both of them were therefore much troubled to see
 ‘ the Treaty of Peace w^{ch} was begun, thus broken: and that they thinking it howsoever much better for the united Provinces to enjoy a
 ‘ commodious and honorable Quiet, then to return to the former difficulties and dangers of war; were pleased to propound unto them by
 ‘ their Ambassadors joyntly, a long Truce instead of Peace. That
 ‘ notwithstanding in this Truce, in the first place, and before all other
 ‘ things, it should be declared both by the King of *Spain* and by the
 ‘ Arch-Dukes, that it was made with the United Provinces as with free
 ‘ Provinces and States, unto which they made no pretence at all; and
 ‘ that they should be left Free in point of their Navigation to the Indies. That both their Kings did beleieve that the United Provinces
 ‘ might bee content with a Truce which was to bring with it such important advantages for them; and not onely these but peradventure
 ‘ some others also. That greater difficulties were to bee feared on the
 ‘ other part; but in case the war were to continue by reason of the *Spaniards* fault, the Forces of the United Provinces would be thereby the
 ‘ more justified, and both their Kings still the more obliged to maintain
 ‘ their Cause. The

The States Generall took time to advise upon the whole with their Provinces. The Ambassadors with like conformity apply'd themselves to the Catholick Deputies, who having lost all hopes of peace, did very much desire to come to some other accommodation, or composition: So they willingly listned to this new proposall of a long Truce; though they thought many difficulties would be met with all in Spain touching the form thereof: They promised the Embassadors notwithstanding to use all the dilligence they could to overcome them: and having received assurances from the Ambassador that they would do all good offices for the continuation of the Treaty, and especially from *Jannines*, on whose means and Authority they did chiefly relye, they at last went from the Hague, after having been 8 months entertain'd there, and went to Brussels. The Negotiation of the Truce lying then chiefly on *Jannines* hand, he did all all he could to perswade the United Provinces to allow of it, in the same manner as had been propounded by him and the English Embassadors. Those Provinces seemed well inclined in general toward the Truce, though they wanted not some amongst them who would have had the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes make the same renunciation in the Treaty of Truce as they pretended unto in that of peace; but the wiser and more moderate men amongst them considered that this would be too unjust a pretention, due regard being had to the difference between a Truce and a Peace. This difficulty proceeded chiefly from Zealand, and was fauter'd by Count *Maurice* by reason of his abovesaid power in that Province, and the almost absolute dependancy which *Malderco* the particular Deputy of Zealand had upon him. *Malderco* had been a menuell servant of the late Prince of Orange, and to say truth, the Interests of Zealand did accord with Count *Maurice* his particular ends; for the Traffick and wealth of that Province was greatly increased by the war; the choice Marriners who had served and did as yet serve in the voyages to the Indies, were likewise Zealanders; and next unto Holland, certainly this was the chiefeft and most considerable of all the United Provinces.

The same difficulties, out of the same reasons were insifted upon by the City of *Amsterdam* in *Holland*: but it was thought, that at last the rest of that Province would prevail over the particular opposition of that City, in a favourable acceptation of the Truce; which *Zealand* did still pertenuously resist: And *Malderco* very zealous in the Cause, endeavoured to make those words suspected, wherein the king of *Spain* and the Archdukes were to denounce the United Provinces to be free States, in form abovesaid. Whereupon one day that this Clause was treated on, he with great fervency broke forth into these words:

'Are we Free men, or still Subjects? If we be Freeman, why ought we not to be publickly acknowledged for such? shall it depend upon the Spaniards to allow us what sort of liberty they please, now that they cannot impose that slavery upon us which they would? to wit, a Liberty more servile then our former servitude; since it must depend upon the interpretation of their own words? Do not we know what interpretation they have already given to those words? Doe not wee know that they take them in such a sence as doth not take from them any pretended right to our Provinces? At this rate wee shall get nothing more by this long Truce, then what was had in the bare

‘bare suspension of Arms : And yet this Truce shall rather look like a
 ‘Peace ; and it may so fall out, as by often Prolongation, it may at
 ‘last be insensibly turned into the nature of a Peace. Then, as in the
 ‘Treaty of Peace we did pretend in the first place, That that absolute
 ‘abnegation should be made by the King of *Spain*, and the Archdukes
 ‘which is now Treated of ; so ought we still to pretend unto it, and
 ‘in that form which may clearlyest declare our Provinces to bee Free
 ‘and Sovereign. Shall not he acknowledge them, when all the rest
 ‘of the whole world Treats with them as such ? To what corner of
 ‘the Earth, or of the Sea is it that the Fame of their Liberty, together
 ‘with the fame of their Forces is not flown ? Let the Spaniards then
 ‘do the like, or let al Treaties be broken. That necessity which inforces
 ‘them to come to agreement with us, will likewise compel them to do
 ‘it in this manner. So since we would make no greater advantage of
 ‘this their necessity, with our swords in our hands, as we ought, and
 ‘peradventure might have done, we shall at least come by it by this
 ‘contestation of Treaty, in such manner as the victory of words can
 ‘most promise.

These reasons against the abovenamed clause, and many others against the Truce in generall, were exaggerated by *Maldereo*, or rather through his mouth by Count *Maurice*, who labour’d by all other means, and used all his industry that this Treaty of Truce might prove vain, as the other of peace had done ; the same things were scattered abroad by his followers, giving out many printed papers to this purpose, not owned by any : they seem’d to distrust the forein Ambassadors, and ’twas whisper’d that though the two Kings advised to Truce, yet for their own self-interest they would not totally forbear assisting the United Provinces though contrary to their Councell, they should reassume their Arms ; that howsoever it was requisit to return to Arms, since it was undoubtedly to be believed, that the present necessities being over, the Spaniards would no longer observe the Truce : That in the mean while, the people of the United Provinces, cheated by the abusive names of Peace and Quiet, would lose their former vigour and constancy : That they would hardly be brought to contribute those moneys afterwards, for the war, which at first they did so willingly part withall : And that all these would be seeds to produce pernicious discords amongst their Provinces. Lastly, they concluded ; That though the Spaniards should observe the Truce, it would be requisit howsoever to keep their Frontiers still wel look’d unto ; The which being so many, and the Jealousies on all sides being now likely to prove so great, the expence in time of Truce would bee well nigh as much as in the time of War. How much better would it then be to continue the War, and not to lose the present occasions which did all of them so smile upon them, and frown upon the Spaniards ? Affairs leaned already towards discord, and the Zealander Deputies threatened openly a separation from the rest of the Provinces, if contrary to the form of common Government, the rest would resolve upon Truce without the particular consent of Zealand. *Jannet* loitred now no more, but judging this a fitting occasion to shew his experience, and force of his advices, one day when their contestations grew highest, ’tis said he spoke to the Deputies of the United Provinces in this manner.

‘Neither

' Neither did my King ever think (worthy Deputies) that so long
 ' contestations could have had place here amongst you in so great an
 ' Union; nor did I ever beleeeve that such distrust were to bee found
 ' here, as some of you seem to have of my behaviour. I will speak of
 ' mine own, leaving the English Ambassadors either to justifie them-
 ' selves, or make their just complaints. For what concerns my endea-
 ' vors, I will onely say, Execution is the only share I have therein. So
 ' as to mistrust them, will be much more to offend my King then mee.
 ' And to say truth, what greater injury can hee receive then this? Hee
 ' having alwayes shewed himself so partiall to your Commonwealth, as
 ' he hath almost never made any difference between the Interests of
 ' his own Kingdome, and of your Commonwealth. When hee was
 ' hardly yet come unto the Crown, and had hardly, after so many Do-
 ' mestick and Forraign oppositions, settled his own affaires, the first
 ' thing he did was to assist your Provinces. From that time to
 ' this he hath not been wanting in ayding you with Moneys, Men, and
 ' Counsell; and to make your Cause appear the juster in all other re-
 ' spects, by his owning it. Doubtlesly hee pretended to assist a Just
 ' Cause: but the justest Actions doe not alwayes prove the most use-
 ' full. Nay these of yours might have been thought the more dange-
 ' rous, by how much their power is the greater, who take themselves
 ' to be offended. The liberty of your Provinces may be said to have
 ' sayled into the Haven, chiefly by the sayles of his Favor. And be-
 ' cause we cannot now establish it upon the Anchor of Peace, my King
 ' endeavours at least to fasten it upon the Anchor of Truce, which may
 ' prove as advantageous to you. Let us then consider whether such
 ' an Agreement may be truly advantageous to your Affairs: Which
 ' when it shall be known, as I hope it will, sinister discourses will then
 ' soon cease; which if they doe not, it will appear at least, That they
 ' proceed from particular passions, vayed over with the semblance of
 ' Publick good. The business is then touching the making of a long
 ' Truce; and whether the chiefeft endeavor ought to bee, That your
 ' Provinces should be therein clearly acknowledged to be Free. Wee
 ' Ambassadors think the clause by us propounded sufficient to that
 ' purpose: That the king of *Spain* and Archdukes should declare that
 ' they made Truce with your Provinces as with free Provinces and
 ' States, unto which they make no pretence at all. But there are some
 ' amongst you who differ from us in opinion, thinking it to be too Ge-
 ' nericall and Dubious; and who would have the King of *Spain* and
 ' Archdukes make the same absolute renunciation now, as was pre-
 ' tended unto when there was a Treaty of Peace. I cannot notwith-
 ' standing part from my first opinion; for it appears to mee, that to
 ' boot with the difference that there is between a Peace and a Truce,
 ' this Declaration may be thought to make more for your liberty then
 ' the other. Tell mee I pray you! have not you alwayes declared
 ' That you have taken up Arms against your Prince, inforc'd thereto
 ' by necessity? And that the war on your side could not be more just,
 ' because it could not be more necessary? and by the same reason
 ' have you not set your Provinces at Liberty by your own Authority?
 ' Then if you pretend upon so good grounds to be free, what need you
 ' now that the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes should make these
 ' renouncings? Doe not you see, that such like renouncings of right,

would

' would presuppose it to be more manifest on their behalf? and that in
 ' such a case much more should be confest by you, then granted by
 ' them? doe not you know that they can grant nothing to the preju-
 ' dice of their successors? Kingdoms cannot otherwise make any con-
 ' tract, nor kings make any alienable part therein? and since they give
 ' the Laws to others, they must likewise in this behalf receive it from
 ' their Crowns. How much better is it then that your Provinces be
 ' declared by the king and the Archdukes to be free by a general clause,
 ' and that the agreement which is now spoken of, may follow with
 ' this presupposition of your Liberty, without making it doubtfull by
 ' any other kinde of clauses, insted of making it more clear? this form
 ' is not only sufficient, but best. And if it be not sufficient with the
 ' contrary party; think you that if the Spaniards would not observe
 ' the Truce for some other ends of theirs, they would ask your opi-
 ' nion first before they would break it? and that they would first argue
 ' whether they have any right over you, or no? This is the custom of
 ' private suits, not of publick Causes; The controversies whereof are
 ' at last reduced to Field-forces, where hee that overcomes hath the
 ' Right, and no account of the Victory is given.

' So as you need not care what interpretation the contrary party will
 ' give to those words wherewith they doe acknowledg you to be free.
 ' That which imports you, is, That your people hold themselves to be
 ' confest to be free by those words, and not to be made so. And that
 ' the Princes your friends understand them in the same sense. So
 ' as if it be needfull to fall to armes again, your People may be more
 ' ready then ever to reassume them, and that your Friends may shew
 ' themselves more dispos'd then ever to favor your cause. But it is too
 ' well known how much more easie it is to use constancy in troubles,
 ' then moderation in prosperity. Tell me I beseech you, those who
 ' are the most zealous amongst you, when did they ever think that the
 ' king of *Spain* and the Archdukes were to condescend to Treaties so
 ' advantageous for your Provinces? and will you lose this so happy oc-
 ' casion? shall vain shadows prevail more with you then essentiall rea-
 ' sons? shall seditious Papers which are every where scatterd abroad,
 ' be of more validity amongst you then the sincere and wise Counsels
 ' of two Kings who are so affectionate unto your Cause. Now is the
 ' time then to resolve upon, and to embrace this agreement which is
 ' now offer'd. Doe you see how the Swissers have fared? take them
 ' for your example. And by the similitude of their affaires and yours,
 ' hope for the like successe. The Swissers took up armes at first against
 ' their Princes, not being able longer to undergoe the grievances of
 ' their Government: nor were they above two or three Cantons
 ' at the beginning, and those the weakest amongst them; but their
 ' People gasping for Liberty, and defending it with equall vigor both
 ' of body and minde, they made invincible oppositions to their Ene-
 ' mies Forces; till being unconquerable by the forces of the other
 ' Cantons, and the strength of their own *Alpester* situation, their
 ' Enemies despaired of ever subjugating them. At last they ceased
 ' fighting, and from tottering agreements they came to a firm and con-
 ' tinuall peace. And who will now dispute the Swissers Liberty? why
 ' may not your Provinces hope for the like success? the severity of
 ' the Spanish Government made *Holland* and *Zealand* take up armes at

' first; their People valiantly withstood their Enemies: The Sea,
 ' Rivers, and the strength of their Naturall situation fought for them;
 ' your other Provinces came in afterwards unto them; and all made
 ' such resistance to the contrary Forces, as there is not any example to
 ' be had of so long a war. The successes have bin various; but at last
 ' they have proved so propitious to you, as a Treaty of accommodation
 ' was sought for by your Enemies; and now we are upon the point of a
 ' long Truce: which if it succeed, will doubtlesly prove very advan-
 ' tageous for your affairs, and will easily bee hereafter renewed upon
 ' the same advantages, or turn'd into a perpetuall peace, which may
 ' prove yet better for you. That which I have hitherto said, seems to
 ' me to be sufficiently clear.

' In fine, there will be no doubt of your Liberty by this Clause, which
 ' is propounded: Nor is it less to bee doubted that a Truce will bee
 ' more advantageous for you, then unnecessitated to subject your selvs
 ' to the uncertain events of a new war. Fortune is generally seen to
 ' have too great a sway in war; and that mocking at humane arrogan-
 ' cy, she too often makes the more powerfull give way unto the
 ' weaker; and Losses insue where Victories were expected. To wit-
 ' ness which, and pass by so many other examples; What more memo-
 ' rable president can you have thereof, then what so lately befell
 ' here before your own Eyes in the Archdukes own person at *Nempus*?
 ' where insted of being Victor, as it was assuredly hoped, hee was
 ' overcome, wounded, and very near being taken prisoner.

' By meanes of this Truce you will escape so many and so dangerous
 ' uncertainties of war; you will in the interim establish your Govern-
 ' ment the better; you will ease your people of their disbursements,
 ' you will continue your former Traffick into the Indies; and you
 ' shall finally see an end of those hatefull titles of Perfidiousness and
 ' Rebellion, which hath hitherto bin given by a great many in the
 ' world to your motions and proceedings in arms. And who can doubt
 ' but your Provinces will hereafter willingly concur in such Expences
 ' as shall be needfull, since they will be so easie in comparison of what
 ' they have been? and so much the more willingly, by how much men
 ' doe more naturally desire to enjoy quiet, then to live in troubles: and
 ' by how much Liberty is the sweeter, after having made tryall of
 ' servitude.

' And surely it is to be believed that those to whom the government
 ' of your people shal be committed, wil use the same care and vigilan-
 ' cy in the administration of publick affairs in time of truce, as they
 ' have prudently done hitherto in the time of war: their chiefest care
 ' will be still more to establish the present concord, which is the soul
 ' which gives life unto the body, and the heart which maintains it: and
 ' and hence proceeds that miraculous temper which of many makes
 ' but one, and of but one many; but yet such as whether they be sever'd
 ' or conjoyn'd do always conspire to the same end. Thus your affairs
 ' being wel order'd within your selvs, you shal have little need to fear
 ' forein dangers: and thus your Truce being at last turn'd into peace (as
 ' 'tis to be hoped it wil be) my King shal see the same success in your af-
 ' fairs as he hath seen in his own, and whereby his kingdom is now
 ' made happy: to wit, after war peace, after troubles rest, and after the
 ' sacking and burning of Towns, and all the other miseries of Arms, the

the commodity, security, and felicity of quiet and peace.

The Majesty and presence of the King of France himself, seemed to break forth in the President *Jannines* countenance and words. He afterward gave what he had spoken more fully in writing, to the end that the people might come to the better knowledge thereof, and that they might the easilier effect the agreement which was in Treaty.

The like offices were done by the Ambassadors of England, and to overcome fully the pertinacy of the Zealanders, it was resolved that Deputies should be sent into Zealand in the name of the six other Provinces, to induce that Province to conformity with the rest: which after much difficulty was at last effected, and all of them concurring now in the same resolution; the Ambassadors began again to labour to overcome the difficulties in dispute. Continual correspondency was had by Letters between *Jannines* and *Richardetto*; so as the negotiation of what was needfull past between them; but the King of Spain needed no less labouring to be brought to give way to the Truce: news was sent to Spain of the Proposition made by the Ambassadors of France and England, and of the new Negotiation introduced by their means.

The King would have been well enough pleased with the Truce, had it been according to usual form, and all things left in the same terms on both sides, as they were at present; but to declare the United Provinces to be altogether free, and to suffer them in express words to traffick in the Indies, seem'd to put too great a difference between the present Treaty, and ordinary Truces: yet 'twas seen that 'twas impossible ever to come to any accommodation without this Declaration of Liberty; and that if the United Provinces had stood so absolutely upon it before they would be brought to a bare suspension of Arms for a few months, they would now be much more resolute in it, in a Truce which was to endure for many years.

The Arch-Dukes, who saw the difficulties and dangers of the war in case it should be continued, at a nearer distance, were easilier induced to give way to the Proposall made by the Ambassadors; and *Jannines* both by word of mouth, and by Letters, had endeavour'd to persuade the Catholick Deputies, that to declare they made Truce with the United Provinces as with free Provinces and States unto which the King and the Arch-Dukes made no pretence at all, did not any ways prejudice, the right which the King or Arch-Dukes might pretend to have over them. 'He had shew'd how that it was a general Declaration; that the word (as) bore with it a sence of similitude, and not of propriety: That in the declaring of one mans being friends with another, 'twas never said I hold him as a friend; that the adding in the last words, not to pretend unto any thing, had reference to the ambiguity of the former words: And finally that such a Declaration could not admit of any interpretation, save only during the time of the Truce.

'That then the King and the Arch-Dukes ought to be content to make it; since it was involved in words which might satisfie both parties.

'First, The unskillfull multitude of the United Provinces, for the outward appearance of their pretended Liberty;

bercy; then the King and the Arch-Dukes; for the true substance which was retained in them of leaving their former right still unhurt. Then opening himself more freely, *Fannines* said; My King in such a case, would not make any difficulty in granting this Declaration; for if the United Provinces when they shall betake themselves to Arms shall not have better Canons and Muskets; words and interpretations will avail them but a little.

In this manner, and by these wary and wily ways, *Fannines* as a good mediator, endeavoured to draw both sides to a Truce; to which the Arch-Dukes were easily perswaded, and indeavoured to bring the King to be so likewise; shewing that by this, neither they nor the King should do any thing more, then what was yeilded unto at the first suspension of Arms; much repugnancy did notwithstanding appear in the King. 'Twas thought in Spain that the Clause where-with the United Provinces were to be declared Free States, though it were limited, would generally be interpreted in favour of their Libertie; and that when they should have got their desires in that behalf, the King would not obtain leave for the exercise of the Catholick Religion in their Countrey, which he was resolved to have by way of interchange; and moreover if the Article concerning the Indies should be condescended unto, how much would the King be thereby damnified? how much reputation would he thereby lose? To which difficulties the Arch-Dukes reply'd, shewing that when the King resolved to have the abovesaid requitall, 'twas only to be understood, if the peace should be concluded; and that the King and the Archdukes having absolutely renounced all their right, the united Provinces were absolutely free; that the present negotiation of the Truce did differ very much, by which the King nor the Archdukes could not lose any piece of their former right, that it was not to be doubted but that a clause so generall and so limited, would be interpreted rather in favour of them, then of the contrary party. That the Ambassadors themselves thought so; as also divers of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces, who were against the Truce, as that which would be no whit more advantagious for them, then was the bare suspension of Arms. And as for the point of the Indies, they seemed to have hopes to end it so, as it should be no considerable prejudice to the King.

These reasons were not taken as fully satisfactory in Spain; but on the other side, the King did very much desire the Truce, and that the so great, and so unnecessary expences of Flanders should cease. The Duke of Lerma was then in great authority with the King; and having gotten the sole power over the King by such arts as were available in peace, he was unwilling to share it with them who might gain it by such means as war affords: which made him from the very beginning very earnest in endeavouring the negotiation: and he did now no less labour that it might come to some good event of agreement; the same desires were known to be in the Arch-Duke; who therefore resolved to send his Confessor to the Court of Spain, to answer all the difficulties which were insisted on in Spain, the which was thought necessary also to put an end to so long a negotiation, wherein above two years had already been spent, which had so tired the two mediating Kings, as they began already to protest that they would meddle no more therein, if it were not all the more speedily ended.

Father *Inico di Brazuela*, of the Order of the Dominicans, was the Archdukes Confessor, a very learned and upright man, and one who had been long experienced in the affairs of *Flanders*: so as men hoped well of him, and of his fidelity, that hee might reconcile affairs with the King and State-Officers, he being a Spaniard, a Votary, and of a very noble Family, and commendable life. Hee was particularly to take all scruples from the King in the point of pretending by way of interchange the exercise of the Catholick profession in the time of Truce, whereof hee was to presse the necessity even for the Cause of Religion it self. By representing, That if they should return to Arms again, manifest hazard would yet be run of losing more then formerly on the King and the Arch-Dukes behalf in *Flanders*, and consequently of quite losing the Catholick Religion in the yet obedient Provinces, instead of regaining it in those that were revolted. The business was all this while put on by the two Kings Ambassadors: but because to negotiate by way of Letters was long and tedious, the Ambassadors minded the Catholick Deputies who had been in Holland, that it would make more for the purpose to have the meeting in Antwerp, to end those difficulties which yet remained concerning the negotiation. This Proposition was willingly listened unto by the Arch-Dukes; whereupon the Ambassadors, and the Catholick Deputies, met in Antwerp in the beginning of February 1609. The greatest difficulty was touching the point of the Indies. The Ambassadors had always assured the United Provinces, that in the Truce they should be permitted to Traffick thither; and they therefore desired that that Article might be laid down in clear and expresse words. On the contrary the Catholick Deputies desired that if it should be impossible to come to a Truce without condescending to that point, it might at least be understood by tacit circumlocutions, then by nominating the Indies expressly.

They desired also howsoever, that the United Provinces should forbear from coming into or from trafficking in those parts of the Indies, which were already under the Crown of Spain. At last after much arguing this point was agreed upon, and was couched in such terms as both the United Provinces, and the Catholick Deputies were satisfied therewith: for the name of the Indies was left out, and the said Provinces were forbidden entring into the Kings Countreys in those parts: And *Richardetto* had wont afterwards to say, that this Article was so obscure, as he himself did not understand it: much disputation was likewise had upon the Article of Contributions: 'twas said that the United Provinces received every year 300000 Crowns of Contribution money, which was a great help to their expences. The Arch-Dukes did not receive neer so much; but because these moneys were all raised by hostility, it was thought a thing too repugnant to the publick tranquillity which was indeavoured, that this kinde of Hostile proceedings should be continued in times of quiet: so as the United Provinces were at last perswaded, that all contributions of both sides should be laid down. On the contrary 'twas necessary to yeild to the pretention moved by them, that the precincts which did appertain to such Towns as were enjoy'd both on this and on that side, should be restored to the said Towns. Touching which point little or nothing returned to the Arch-Dukes hands, whereas large

large boundeurs were restored to the Towns of Breda, and Berghenap- zone, together with some others in Brabant which were in the possession of the United Provinces? yet the Arch-Dukes did so far prevail, and my endeavours were also so earnest therein, as the exercise of the Catholick Religion only was left in those precincts, as it was before. To the which the United Provinces obliged themselves apart, being promised by *Fannins* and *Rossi* his Colleague, who gave it them under their hands, that the King of France should oblige himself to see it performed. Touching the point of exchange of Towns, there was no means of accommodation therein to be found; so as it was resolved that each party should still enjoy what they did possess at the present: nor would the United Provinces ever suffer themselves to be perswaded in the point of taking away the Taxes and other impediments to which those vessels were lyable in Zealand which passed through the Scheld to come to Antwerp, whereby that City was much indamaged, as hath been said. This business was refer'd to be propounded and examined in a friendly manner after the Truce should be concluded. And the Arch-Dukes hoped by the benefit of the Truce, the better to accommodate their own Ports in Flanders, into which much merchandize was to be brought, which in time of war went necessarily into Holland and Zealand; because their Havens were continually block'd up by many of the United Provinces men of war.

These were the chief points on which the Ambassadors of France and England treated with the Marquis *Spinola*, and the other Catholick Deputies in Antwerp: the Catholick Deputies endeavouring to proceed as slowly as might be, that the Arch-Dukes Confessor might have time to negotiate in Spain, and to send away the resolution which was expected from thence; which not long after came; and was the same in sum which the Arch-Dukes had desired, and the Confessor by the reasons alledged by him, had perswaded the King unto: great consultations were had notwithstanding before this determination, both in the Counsel of State, and amongst the gravest and learnedst Ecclesiasticks of Spain: for the King would be fully satisfied in all those affairs which were to be considered in so important a business, before he would suffer it to be brought to a conclusion.

The Confessor himself returned soon after; so as the affairs being fitted by all parties for an agreement, the two Kings Ambassadors, who after the negotiation at Antwerp, were gone to give an account of the whole business to the United Provinces, thought it fitting to return again to that City, and to bring thither the same Deputies of the United Provinces, who were first imploy'd in negotiating the business in Holland; which was approved of by the Arch-Dukes, and at the same time the Catholick Deputies returned thither likewise, amongst which was Commissary *Neyen*, who was then returned from Spain.

The United Provinces thought this to be the business of highest nature, and of greatest importancy which had befallen them since their withdrawing themselves from the obedience of the Crown of Spain, and therefore it was judged necessary that it should be concluded by the authority of the whole body of the great Assembly representing the General Union; and that the Assembly should consist of

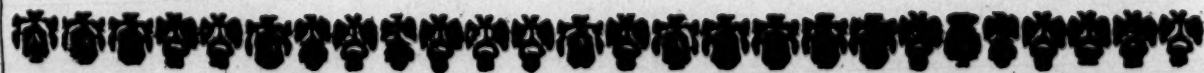
as many Deputies, as could be gathered together upon so great an Occurrence. The Town of Berghen-ap-zone was made choice of to this purpose, situated not many leagues from Antwerp. Here the great Assembly met, and 'twas said that the Deputies were eight hundred in number. The Deputies of both sides, together with the two Kings Ambassadors, met every day in Antwerp, in the publick Palace of that City. From whence whatsoever past from time to time was sent to Brussels to the Arch-Dukes, and to the United Provinces in Berghen-ap-zone, and resolutions were suddenly taken. When all points were then adjusted, after so many and so long obstructions, a Truce for twelve years was established and concluded on the ninth of April in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and nine, betwixt both parties: The Articles were eight and thirty. In the first it was declared, that the Arch-Dukes made Truce with the United Provinces as with Free States and Provinces, unto which they did not make any pretence at all; and they obliged themselves that the King of Spain should ratifie the same Declaration, together with all the rest, which was afterwards done in such manner as was requisit. The other chief Articles contain'd the affairs of chiefest importance, as hath been shewed above; and in the rest divers resolutions were contained, touching the affairs of Justice; and concerning rather particular then publick Interests.

Thus did this Negotiation of Flanders end at last; the Issue whereof was so long expected throughout all Europe.

And truly at this Truce, as if it had been at an universal Quiet, all Europe seem'd to rejoice, which had seen for so many years, and amidst so many fatall and dreadfull spectacles, the blood of all her Nations run upon the Theatre of *Flanders*.



THE





A
RELATION
OF THE
COMMOTIONS
Which hapned in
FLANDERS
In the year 1616.

By reason of the United Provinces taking the Town
and Castle of *Fuliers*. And what Negotiations
were afterwards had to accord the Differences
between the ELECTOR of *Brandenburg*,
and the Duke of *Newburg* upon their pretended
succession to the state of the Houle of *Cleves*.



William, Duke of *Cleves* dying about the end of *March*, in
the year 1609. and the Male line of that Familie fail-
ing in him, divers Princes of *Germany* laid presently
claim to the Inheritance of his estate, by the right
which lay in the Female line. *William* had had four
Sisters married into *Germany*; The first to the Duke
of *Prussia*; The second to the Duke of *Newburg*;
The third to the Duke *Zweeburg*; and the fourth to the Marqesse of *Bur-*
gantz. The first died before *William*, and left one Daughter behind him,
who was afterwards married to the Elector Marqesse of *Brandenburg*;
and therefore *William* being dead, the Elector pretended that the right
to that estate fell to his wife, by the mothers side; and that his wives
mother as she who was the eldest, was to be preferred before all the
other sisters. *Newburg* made use of the same pretence of eldership; and
said,

said, that his wife, being the eldest sister living, should succeed in the first place: The other two pretended that all the four sisters had equal right to the succession, and that therefore the Inheritance was to be divided into four equal parts. To both which these four Princes, the Duke of *Saxony* moved an ancient pretence of his, and the Duke of *Nevers* made another claim; *Brandenburg* and *Newburg* took possession presently; though somewhat withstood by the deceased Dukes Vassals, who desired it might first be declared by the way of Justice, to whom the succession did lawfully appertain: But the Emperour proved a much greater obstacle herein; for he pretended, that the Inheritance should be in him, by way of sequestration, till it should be legally declared who should be Heir. In this respect he, first by threats, and afterwards by sending Arch-Duke *Leopold* to *Juliers* to see the sequestration made, indeavoured to take the possession from *Brandenburg*, & *Newburg*; in whose behalf the Kings of *France* and *England*, the United Provinces of *Flanders*, and divers other Princes of *Germany* did appear; by whose means an agreement was made between the two Dukes, that they should equally possesse those Countries till the main cause should be decided. The Emperours threats proved therefore vaine, and vain the means used by *Leopold* in his name; for those two Princes, assisted by a powerful succour from *France*, *England*, and the United Provinces; *Leopold* was enforced to forgo *Juliers*, and to quit those Territories. It was not discovered that the King of *Spain*, or the Arch-Duke *Albertus* did any wayes incline to meddle in the aforesaid differences; so as *Leopold* could have no succour from *Flanders*. Only they did resolve, not to permit that the United Provinces should make any advantage within those parts, by any whatsoever pretence: And because they, the United Provinces had caused some jealousies that they would keep the Town of *Juliers*, which was fallen to *Brandenburg*, and *Newburg* chiefly by the means of their Souldiers, in whom those Dukes greatest strength did consist in this succour; therefore in case of such a novelty, the Arch-Duke and *Spaniards* had secretly resolved to do the like in some other part of those Countries; hoping that one noveltie might serve to cure another, and that then by an enterchangable restitution of the possessed Towns, their wonted neutrality in those parts might be continued, and the controverted succession might be decided in its proper Tribunal of the Empire. But the United Provinces did not at that time make the apprehended invasion: So as the two Princes continuing their former intire possession, all things on all sides were then reduced to a quiet condition. The Elector of *Brandenburg* had from the very first sent one of his Brothers, and Duke *Newburg*, his eldest son, to take by agreement the forenamed Possession, and both of them joyntly to govern those Countries: Their incomes were equal, equal their Garisons, and they shared alike in the administration of government: For what concerned Religion, 'twas left in its former condition; in the publick exercise the Catholick Religion did generally prevail; but in many parts the number of Hereticks was the greater, who were most of them *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*. *Brandenburg* was a *Calvinist*, and *Newburg* a *Lutheran*. For all this they kept both of them most commonly in *Dosseldorp*, a Town situated upon the *Rhine*, wherein the Dukes of *Cleves* did usually reside; nay, they lived both of them in the very Castle of *Dosseldorp*, following their several Sects, and for all other things, they administred Justice in common: but in fine the

the saying is true; *That a Kingdom will admit of no Companions*: This correspondence did not long continue between these two Princes; small jealousies began at first to creep in; then greater suspicions grew up; and at last they broke into open discord. Each of them endeavoured particular adherencie, and to make their own sect greater at home, and to have potent friends abroad: For what concern'd forrain friendship, *Brandenburg* had the better at first; for the United Provinces inclined manifestly towards him as well in respect of Religion, as having also formerly held very good friendship and correspondence with his house: Wherefore *Newburgs* Son, knowing that he should alwayes have need of potent friends abroad, and being formerly sufficiently inclined to turn Catholick, did the more dispose himself to joyn with the Catholick partie in *Germany*; which he clearly testified by his marrying with the Duke of *Bavaria's* daughter: Being married, though he did not at first suddenly declare himself, he was presently held for a Catholick by the contrary faction; The Hereticks grew very jealous to see *Newburg* so near allied to the house of *Bavaria* and to see that he had the Elector of *Cullen*, who was the Duke of *Bavaria's* brother so near his neighbour; and many Commodities of his Electorship, and of his Bishoprick of *Liege* so near at hand; both of which did confine upon a great part of the late Duke of *Cleves* estate. They did moreover consider, that the Duke of *Bavaria*, to boot with his being one of the chiefest Princes of *Germany*, and one of the most zealous for the Catholick Religion; he together with the Elector of *Mentz* was head of the Catholick league, made but a few years before; and he himself alone head of the forces, if there should be any occasion to use them: so as they thought, that he to boot with his own peculiar forces, might easily by his means make his son in law *Newburg* be assisted by the forces of the whole league. But these were not the jealousies which did most vex the Hereticks: that which troubled them most was, that the match between *Newburg* and *Bavaria* was made by the intervening, and authoritie of the King of *Spain* and Archduke *Albertus*; and that therefore upon all occasions *Newburgs* interest was likely to be favoured by the neighbouring forces of *Flanders*. *Newburg*, on the other-side did not only suspect the forces of the United Provinces, but those of *England* and of the Heretical league of *Germany*, which was not long before made in opposition of the Catholick league: As for *France*, 'twas doubtful to which side it would incline; but 'twas at last concluded that it would either stand Newtral, or that if the King of *Spain* should move, the *French* would withstand the *Spaniards*. This was the condition of the affairs of *Cleves* and *Juliers* both at home and abroad, in the beginning of the year 1614. The Elector of *Brandenburgs* Brother was dead a little before this; so as he had seen his eldest son, a youth of above eighteen years of age, upon whom his Mothers right was to descend, to be in his place: who tarried a while in the Town of *Wesell*, and then went to the Town of *Cleves*, from whence the whole Dukedome has its name: and on the other side, the Palatine of *Newburg*, (for so was the Duke and Dutchesse of *Newburgs* eldest son called) continued his residencie in *Dosseldorp*. *Brandenburgs* son had many councillors placed above him, for his *Governours*; but he was chiefly guided in all things by the advice and authoritie of the United Provinces. The Palatine of *Newburg* did himself undergo the burthen of all the businesse which did occur, which he shewed himself very capable of, as well by reason of

the maturitie of his years, as for many other excellent indowments both of body and mind: the Jelousies and discords both of *Brandenburg*, and *Newburgs* side were already apparent to all men: and because it was impossible but that some important alteration must needs happen, all the eyes of the Northern parts were bent upon the affaires of the *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and great expectation was had on all sides of what would befall: the mean while the spring came on; in which time the Palatine of *Newburg* met with the Elector of *Cullen*, and tarried some dayes with him; which occasioned a new and greater suspicion amongst the *Brandenburgians*; nor did the Marquesse himself any longer delay Innovations: He and his men, favoured by the Souldierie which were in the United Provinces nearest Garrisons, endeavoured to surprise, and to make himself absolute master of the Town of *Dosseldorp*, at a time when *Newburg* was not there: but being discovered by them that were within, he failed in his enterprize. *Newburg* was hereat mightily moved; and the neighbours no lesse: amongst which the Archduke, considering particularly, that if the two forenamed Princes should take up Armes, it would be a businesse of great consequence, and that from every least sparkle which was thereby to be raised, some important fire of combustion, might break forth, and be enlarged thereabouts; he therefore resolved on his side to use all possible means, that some remedy might be found out whereby the differences might be composed. He writ to both the Princes, exhorting them to agreement, and declared that both himself and the King of *Spain* would bend their forces against him of the two who should first offer at any noveltie: He writ thus to both of them that he might not appear partial to either of them: He likewise dealt with the United Provinces, to the end that they might endeavour the preservation of Peace between the two Princes: He likewise desired the Queen Regent of *France*, that she would interpose her authoritie with the two Princes, to the same purpose. And Lastly, he indeavoured an assembly of divers Deputies, not only in the name of *Brandenburg*, and *Newburg*, but of other Princes also, who should play the part of Mediators, either to establish the former agreement better between them, or to renew another which might be more satisfactorie to them both. The United Provinces seemed to desire peace between the two Princes; which they signified to the Archduke by way of Answer: and gave the like answer to the instances made unto them by the Queen of *France*, at the Archdukes perswasions: Adding moreover, that if necessitie should inforce them to take up Arms, they would resolve on nothing before they had acquainted her Majestie with it: All which things were imparted to the Archduke, both by the Embassadour of *Flanders*, who was at *Paris*, and by the *French* Embassadour who was at *Brussels*. Notwithstanding all this, the Archduke and the *Spaniards*, doubted that the Queen of *France* her intercession (*France* it self being then full of troubles) would not be of sufficient authoritie with the United Provinces, to detain them within requisit terms; neither were their doubts vain: Not many dayes after news was brought of another Innovation made by *Brandenburg*, much greater then that of *Dosseldorp*, and fomented by the United Provinces more openly then was the other. Garrisons (as I have told you before) were placed in the name of both the Princes, and in equal numbers, where it was necessary to place them: the chiefeft was put in the Town and Castle of *Juliers*; the Gouverneur of which Town and Castle was

was one who had served in the Army of the United Provinces, and who did much depend upon Count *Maurice*, General of their Army. *Brandenburg* under pretence of fear (which was likewise his colour for attempting to surprize *Dosseldorp*) that *Newburg* had designed to drive out *Brandenburgs* part of the Garrison, and make himself absolute master of *Juliers*, resolved to make himself master of it; which about the beginning of *May* he effected in this manner. *Brandenburgs* souldiers took up Arms one night, and easily drove out *Newburgs* men, who were surprized at unawares, and when they were disperst both out of the Town and Castle; and suspicions upon suspicions being pretended by the Governor, he suddenly brought in, at first a small number of Souldiers out of the nearest Garrisons of the Low Countries, and afterwards a strength of above 2000 Foot, together with some Horse, all of them belonging to the United Provinces; who did honest this their action with a specious pretence. They said that the coming of their Forces into *Juliers*, was only to preserve the publick Peace, which the two Princes would by their Arms violate: that *Brandenburgs* men should likewise be put out of *Juliers*; and that they would keep the Town and Castle as deposited in their hands, till the two Princes should come to a better agreement. This noveltie hapning, *Newburg* resolved to meet with it by another, though not of such concernment. He presently posselt himself wholly of the Town of *Dosseldorp*, and began presently to raise some Fortifications there. *Dosseldorp* lies upon the bankes of the *Rhine*; 'tis a little Town, but pleasant by reason of its situation, and particularly on the Castle side, which answers upon the sight of the river. The Castle is not Fortified, but serves rather for a dwelling house then for a strong hold; whereas the Town of *Juliers* is greater, and is fortified by a Castle built after the modern fashion, with some Royal Bulwarks; it commands a fertile and large Countrie, extended in a spacious plain, which is called the Dukedome of *Juliers*, taking its name from the Town: the seat thereof is important, for it lies between *Cullen*, *Leige*, and the Frontiers of those Provinces of *Flanders* which are next *Germany*: so as it may be said to be one of the chiefeft Ports on that side toward *Germany*: and 'twas thought a businesse of great moment, that the United Provinces should be entred *Juliers*: and being considered as it related to the affairs of *Flanders*, it was a manifest advantage to the United Provinces, and consequently a great prejudice to the Archduke and to the *Spaniards*: and by it also the reputation of the Archduke, and of the Crown of *Spain* was too foully blemisht: the *Spaniards* which were in *Flanders* said with much indignation:

“Was it not sufficient for the United Provinces to have made a Truce,
 “almost wholly after their own will, and to have used such insolencies
 “both during the Treatie and since, but that now they must invade new-
 “tral Countries in an hostile manner? and therein violate the publick
 “faith? without any the least claim of particular right? what did there
 “remain for them more to do now, unlesse it were to erect a Tribunal
 “in *Holland*, whereby to give Law to the whole North? since arroga-
 “ting unto themselves, as it were, the sole Arbitrament over the Con-
 “troverisie of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, they pretended to dispose of it at their
 “pleasure; or else to usurp it themselves, and take the Countrie into
 “their own possession.

But these were but the least complaints the *Spaniards* made; they complained

complained much more upon the Archduke, and against the Truce made by him not many years before, to the so great prejudice of the affairs of *Spain*, as they did alwayes generally think.

“That these were the egregious fruits which were gotten by the Truce: to wit, the losse of reputation (the soul of Empire) to the Crown of *Spain*; the Truce being made to the so much vilification thereof; and so many reformatiōs being since made in the Army, with such exquisit parsimony, as if the Army were a private family, and the King, a Merchant, not a King; and the Province of *Flanders*, in the midst of *Spain*, & not invironed on all sides by that Courts greatest enemies: that as soon as the Truce was concluded, the King of *France* had forthwith taken upon him the boldness, proudly to threaten *Flanders* with his Forces, and to bring it into those dangers, from which it could not otherwise have been freed, but by the almost manifest miracle of his sudden death; but that for all this, the *French*, the *English*, the United Provinces, and the Hereticks of *Germany* had not laid aside their daring; since all of them, after having joyntly assisted *Brandenburg* and *Newburg* forcibly to take intire possession of the States of *Cleves* and *Juliers* it behoved Archduke *Leopold* shamefully to quit those parts: that the Hereticks had since threatned *Cullen*; had taken away the government of *Aquisgrane* from the Catholicks; Fortified *Mulen* in the face of *Cullen*; and had in divers other sorts insulted over the Catholicks in those parts: and what wonder was it that such insolencies should be done by them? since the Arms of *Flanders*, whilome the Terror of Hereticks, were since the Truce grown so weak, as that they were become a scorn, and laughingstock amongst them; that if the maintaining of a flourishing Army in *Flanders* was too expensive, they might be limited elsewhere, to supply these more important Forces: that the Crown of *Spain*, was to reap Gold and Jewels from the *Indies*; from other kingdoms ostentation, and a long series of Title; and souldiers and arms from *Flanders*, her magazine thereof.

Thus did the Spaniards complain aloud and with military freedome; and truly it is not to be denied but that after the Truce, the affaires of *Flanders* were reduced to too great a diminution of Forces: the Catholick Army did not then exceed 8000 Foot and 1200 Horſe, whereas the United Provinces did still maintain in theirs above 20000 Foot and 2500 Horſe; to boot with the 4000 Foot and 200 Horſe, all of them *French*, which were paid by the Crown of *France*: For though the Truce was judged necessary out of very many and weightie reasons; yet was there no reason why *Flanders* should be afterwards left so weak, as that its own weaknesse should invite the enemies of the Crown of *Spain*, and of the Catholick Religion, to new and rash designs: How greatly insolent the United Provinces were in possessing themselves of *Juliers*, and how much prejudice did thereby insue to the Provinces of *Flanders*, was sufficiently known by the Archduke, and by those Spanish officers, who next to him guided the Affaires of *Flanders*. He therefore resolved to send speedy advertiſment to the King of what the United Provinces had done, advising him not to indure it: He hinted for remedy, the taking up of Arms, as it was first agreed on, when they apprehended the like proceedings, as hath been said; not intermitting howsoever the way of negotiating not only by the means of the Queen of *France*, but also of the King of *England*, by whose means it was to be indeavoured that the United Provinces

vinces should quit *Juliers*, and should leave affairs in their former condition: and because it was necessary to recruit the Armie lustily both with Foot and Horse, when there should be occasion of drawing it out into the field; the Archduke desired the King, that he would send suddenly 400000 crowns into *Flanders* to this purpose: it cannot be said how strangely *Spain* was moved at this invasion of *Juliers*: so as the Archdukes advice was presently approved of: and it was credibly believed, that the moneys desired should be presently provided. The Archduke the mean while entered into divers negotiations: the United Provinces seemed to desire, that the Deputies of *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, together with those of the Elector of *Cullen*, and their own should meet in *Wessell*, as also the ordinary Agents of *France* and *England* who were with the two Princes; to the end that they might see whether any better agreement then the former might be made by an amicable way between the two Princes. The Archduke therefore resolved to send some one in his behalf likewise to *Wessell*, and to this purpose he chose the Count *Octavius* Viscount. *Newburg* in particular had prest the Archduke very much to do this; but the conference at *Wessell* may be almost said to have been ended before it was begun: for the United Provinces, as if they would imperiously give laws to the negotiation, propounded, that *Newburg* should first put the affairs of *Dosseldorp* into their former condition, and that afterwards they would think upon some expedient for those of *Juliers*, so as should be satisfactory to all parties, which *Newburg* denied to do, saying that in all reason the affairs of *Juliers* and of *Dosseldorp* should be put into their former condition at one and the same time: So as Count *Octavius* hearing presently after his departure from *Brussels*, that the Treatie at *Wessell* was broken off, instead of going thither he went to *Cleves*, where the Elector of *Brandenburgs* son was: and mediated very much with him in the Archdukes name to bring him to agreement with *Newburg*; the answers he received were general: He then went to do the like with *Newburg*, who justified his actions by the violence of the contrary partie: and because not many dayes before he had made publick profession of the Catholick faith, he recommended his affairs with much efficacie to the Archduke, desiring him to interpose his authoritie that they might be taken into protection likewise by the King of *Spain*: the indeavours at *Wessell* proving vain, the Archduke renewed his former applications to the Queen of *France*, as also with the King of *England*, to the end that both of them might procure the United Provinces to forgo *Juliers*; to the which the Queen seemed to be very willing, saying, she would send some one of purpose to see some remedy taken; the King of *England* shewed likewise the same intentions and readinesse: But as Princes actions are usually full of jealousies; the Queen of *France* not appearing so forward, after many dayes in her performances, as she was in her promises, they grew suspicious of the proceedings of the *French*: in fine twas doubted that the businesse of *Juliers* was done either at first with their knowledge, or afterwards by their approbation: Twas considered what the United Provinces had written to the Queen; that they would do nothing in this affair, before they had communicated it to the *French*: but the consideration was yet more weightie, that according to the nature of their government, so streightly bound in correspondencie with the two Crowns of *France* and *England*, it could not almost be possible that they should of themselves fall upon so bold

an action. The French Embassadour at *Brussels* did notwithstanding constantly affirm, that the Queen knew nothing of the novelty of *Juliers*, but that *France* was mightily displeased thereat; and that it was not to be doubted but that the Queen would finde out some remedy for it; that shee had forborn sending the forementioned Expresse into *Holland*, and to Treat with the two Princesses, because shee hoped for some good issue from the conference at *Wessell*; but that proving otherwise, they were now to expect what shee had promised. This mean while some provision of monies were heard of from *Spain*; two hundred thousand Crowns were sent at the present, and great hopes were given that the other 200000. should follow presently, and yet a greater summe; the Summer was already well advanced, neither was any news yet heard of the coming of any one from *France*, nor that there was any intention of sending any; so without any further expectation from *France*, the Archduke without any more delay, resolved to augment the Army, and to raise new men. Hee determined to raise 6000. Almaines, and 7000. Walloons, and that a levy should be made thorowout all the Provinces of *Flanders* of 1300. horse, distinguished into Curassiers, and Harqubusiers. the ancient Souldiers were, as hath been said, about 8000. foot, and 1200. horse. The Archdukes resolution was, that being to march forth with the Armie, all the old Militia should be drawn out, and so many of the new men as might make up a Body of 18000. foot, and of 2400. horse, and that the rest of the new men should remain to guard the Frontiers, and to supply the Garrisons. *Newburg* was very solicitous that the Army should be put together, for fear lest hee might be driven out of *Dosseldorp* by the *United Provinces*. He also raised men, to do the which the Duke of *Bavaria* assisted him with moneys, and in secret the Catholike League, and after hee had declared himself to be a Catholike, the Pope had likewise put on a resolution in *Rome* to assist him with moneys, which were to be contributed as his part in generall to the same League in case of warre; and to this purpose I used my best endeavors. The King of *England* seemed at that time to be again desirous to interpose in the accommodation of the affairs of *Juliers*, and had destin'd to send over Sir *Henry Wotten* extraordinary Embassadour into *Holland* to this purpose; and before he sent, he made this proposition by him: That in the first place *Juliers* should be deposited into the hands of some that were Newters: And for this he nominated three: *Philip* Prince of *Orange*, *Maurice* Lantsgrave of *Hessen*, and the Prince of *Hennault*. The first a Catholike, the last two Heretikes. The Archduke would have agreed upon the first, but could not approve of the other two, because they depended too much upon the Heretike faction of *Germany*. But in *France*, were it either that they did not approve of the Proposition, or of the choice of the Persons, or that they would not give this advantage in the businesse to the King of *England*, no resolution at all was taken to insist upon this way; onely the Queen continued to assure the Archduke, that she would suddenly send some expresse into *Holland*, and that in the mean while shee would not omit to use such means as were requisite by her Embassadour in Ordinary, to make the *United Provinces* quit *Juliers*. In fine, all that the Queen Regent, or the King of *England* could effect by their Intercession, was no more but this; That the *United Provinces* did again declare, that they did not enter into *Juliers*, to appropriate

appropriate it to themselves, but to keep the two Princes from breaking forth into more dangerous disorders, that they were ready to leave it as soon as the two Princes should be agreed; not in the main cause, (which might prove a businessse of too great length) but in the point of possession, which might quickly be adjusted: that they beleev'd this their Declaration would be approved of both in *France* and in *England*; and that they should be exceeding glad that by the means and Authority of the two Crowns such an agreement might be the sooner made.

This Declaration of the United Provinces seem'd very justifiable to the French Embassadour at *Brussels*; and that on the contrary the Archduke was too hot in his proceedings, and in his resolving with the Spaniards to make so great a preparation of Arms. "They affirmed that Businessse were not brought to a head or ripenessse by violence, "but by patience, that the United Provinces were naturally slow in their "resolutions, by reason of their form of Government, which was composed of multitudes, that some one was suddenly to come from "France for the accommodation of the affairs of *Juliers*, which the "Queen would use all possible means to effect. On the contrary, that "Forces did provoke Forces; wherein Fortune did bear a much greater sway then counsell; that it was to be beleev'd that the United Provinces would quickly be stirring with their Forces, when they should "see the King of *Spain* and the Archduke begin to move with theirs, "so as the one of them drawing up to hinder the others designs, what "could the successse prove, but that the Truce being broken through "the default of the Archduke, and the Spaniards, a new warre were to "be begun in *Flanders*.

Hee afterwards treated with the Archduke about this Declaration of the United Provinces, and did the best offices he could to suspend the taking up of Arms; but the Archduke was no wayes satisfied with such a Declaration; but rather grew the more jealous; he thought that the United Provinces would spin out the businessse, that they might not quit *Juliers*; and that the agreement touching possession between the two Princes, though severed from the principall cause, would be a businessse of very great length. Marquessse *Spinola* had likewise the same suspicions, who was Camp-Master-Generall of the Catholike Army, and the Chief Minister of State that the King of *Spain* had in *Flanders*; he therefore still egged on the Archduke to raise men, and to take to the Field as soon as all necessities could be had. So as the Archduke keeping constant to his former resolution, would not listen to what the French Embassadour could say, and to the English Agent (the Embassadour in Ordinary for *England* not being then at *Brussels*) who strengthened his reasons, by assuring him, that when the extraordinary Embassadour should come from his King into *Holland*, the Affairs of *Juliers* would be accommodated; he answered in resolute terms, That he would not suspend his resolutions the space of one hour, till the United Provinces should have quitted *Juliers*. The affairs of *Spain* were chiefly managed (as hath been said) by Marquessse *Spinola*, and therefore he took upon him the care of raising new men, and of providing for all other things necessary. He was naturally very vigilant, and ever bent himself wholly to the affairs in hand, so as the new Foot and Horse were quickly raised, and provision taken for what else was necessary to put the Armie together. *Mastrick* was designed for the rendezvous of the

Army; a City situated with a stone bridge over the Mote towards the confines of the Countie of *Juliers*, and but eight hours good march distant from the Town of *Juliers*: it was now about the beginning of *August*, and without any longer delay, the Army began to march towards *Mastrick*, with orders to be in that City by the twentieth of that moneth, and twelve piece of Cannon were sent thither. This mean while the United Provinces, when they saw these the Archdukes and King of *Spains* proceedings, had brought in 3000 Foot into *Juliers*, so as with their men that were there before, twas judged that they had 4000 Foot in the Town and 300 Horse: they had likewise with great diligence fortified the Town, and provided it with victuals and war-like Ammunition; vvvhich vvvere all of them signs that they vvould maintain it gallantly, in case the Catholick Army should draw up towards it: they had not as yet moved any other men, but stood only narrowly observing, vvvhich vvway the Catholick Army vvould take, that they might assemble themselves, and bend vvvhither it vvvas most fitting: But as for vvwhat enterprize the Catholike Army was to fall upon; (the true design being then kept very secret) the Governours of the United Provinces were not only doubtful, and generally all the Hereticks, but even the very Court of *Flanders* were uncertain; to besiege *Juliers*, which was the cause of the quarrel, twas thought it would be a difficult undertaking, the Town being so well provided of all things; and twas no question, but that the United Provinces would either indeavour to relieve it, or would make some other diversion on the side of *Flanders*: to boot that to go against the forces of those very Provinces, would be an absolute breach of Truce; to which it was known that the Archduke was utterly averse: and therefore there were but few that thought that the Army would turn towards *Juliers*: others guessed more narrowly at what did indeed issue; that the Catholick Army was either to march against *Aquisgrane*, & to take the government of that City from the Hereticks, who had with violence bereft the Catholicks of it; or else against the very Countries of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, to possesse themselves of some part thereof, and thus to counterpoise the former invasion of the United Provinces. The two last resolutions were both of them taken: and because the first was against *Aquisgrane*, it is requisit that taking my rise a little higher, I acquaint you briefly with the reason which moved the Archduke to undertake that enterprize. The City of *Aquisgrane* is subject to the Empire; and is numbred amongst one of the ancientest, and noblest of all *Germany*. The Catholick Religion did formerly flourish very much there, till in these later times the greatest part of her inhabitants fell into *Luthers* heresie, and many into that of *Calvin*. The government thereof kept still notwithstanding in the hands of Catholicks; which according to the custome of the Free Towns of *Germany*, consists chiefly in a Magistracy, whereof two Burgomasters are the Heads: but lately in the year 1610. the Hereticks rising with greater violence then formerly against the Catholicks, they tooke the Magistracy from them, giving afterwards no respect to other new commands which came forth in favour of the Catholicks: they were manifestly favoured in these their insolencies, particularly by the United Provinces, and by the Prince Elector Palatine: by the United Provinces, that they might have that neighbouring City the more adherent to them; by the Prince Elector Palatine out of the same reason: for in the vacancy of the Emperour

Rodolphus,

Rodolphus, he administering that part wherein *Aquisgrane* is, had confirm'd the new heretical Magistracie in possession, and desired to see it so continued. The Emperour had made the Archduke *Albertus*, and the Elector of *Cullen* his Trustees to see these his last mandates executed; which they would gladly have done in an amicable way, and not by violence: divers indeavours and divers diligences were had to this purpose, but all in vain: for the hereticks would not listen to reason, and they seemed not to fear Force: but growing every day more insolent, they had under various pretences brought a Garrison of 600 Dutch Foot into *Aquisgrane*, saying that they were *Brandenburgs* souldiers, when indeed they belonged to the United Provinces as most men thought. This was the condition of *Aquisgrane* at that time when the Catholick Army was marching towards their Rendezvous; at which conjuncture of time three Embassadours from the three Ecclesiastical Electors came to *Brussels* to treat upon divers things which concerned the Catholick league of those parts. And because every one thought that they came chiefly for the affairs of *Juliers*, this common belief was of great advantage to what the Catholick Army did afterwards undertake: as soon then as the Army was ready to march into the field, it came to *Mastrick* at the time appointed. The government thereof in the Archdukes absence belonged to the Marquess *Spinola*, so he together with the other chief Commanders met on the twentieth of *August* at the same place. I thought it might very well become me, after having done what belonged to my charge in the former negotiations, to be also upon this occasion in the camp, (and it was approved of at *Rome* that I should do so) judging that it would be a greater terrour to the hereticks, and more honourable for the Pope and the Catholick cause if that the Popes Nuntio should be seen to be in that Army. The Marquess of *Gualdalutz*, who was Embassadour from the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*, resolved to be there likewise, and therefore both of us went together from *Brussels*, and accompanied *Spinola* afterwards: we were lodged all three together at *Mastrick*, where we staid two days, till such time as the whole Army had past over the *Mose*; into our lodging came usually all the chief commanders of the Army; amongst which those of greatest esteem of the Spanish Nation, both for Nobility of blood and opinion of valour, were Don *Luis de Velasco*; Don *Fernando Girone*, and Don *Inego di Borgia*, and of the Dutch; Count *Bucquoi*, and Count *Henry di Berg*. Don *Luis* was General of the Horse, being come to that degree from being General of the Artillery, and had been for a long time Camp-master of the Infantry. Don *Fernando* had likewise for many years discharged the place of Camp-master, together with greater commands apart, and going afterwards into *Spain*, he was by the King made one of the supream Council of War, and was return'd again from that Court with great honour to the Army in *Flanders*. Don *Inego di Borgia* was then Camp-master also; and Governour of the Castle of *Antwerp*, which is the most important government, and of greatest trust which is given in *Flanders*: But he was chiefly commended for his singular skill in Fortification and Training, which are two so necessary points in Militia. Count *Eucquoi* was then General of the Artillery, who had first for many years been Camp-master of the *Walloon* Infantry; but being by reason of his known experience called some few years before to be governour of the Emperours forces in *Germany*, he was not at that time in the Army. Count *Henry di Berg* was then likewise highly

esteemed for his Souldiery, and specially for what concerned Horse, wherein he had had sundry chief Commands, and had alwayes given proofs of better deserts. The rest of the Colonels and Camp-Masters of other Nations were all of them men of very good esteem in matter of warre: But the Count *Emden* was in particular much valued amongst them: He was a Dutch Colonell, come of one of the chiefest Houses of that part of *Germany* which lies towards *Flanders*; and whose birth was alwayes well accompanied with Valour. Divers were the opinions, as hath been said, concerning the motion of the Catholike Forces: but it was not as yet known what resolution they would put on; so good is secrecie; and so religiously ought Princes to observe it. The unknown resolutions being now to bee put in execution, and being to bee made known by the very execution it self, *Spinola* thought it fitting to communicate the whole, first to the chief Commanders, and others of best respect, which he did thus by word of mouth.

“ So many and so great (my most noble Companions) have the Insolencies of the Heretiques been, and the novelty of them in these parts, as it hath at last been requisite to remedy them by Force; and to begin with this last of *Juliers*; what other greater could there be, or more rash? The United Provinces having had the boldnesse to Invade Newtrall Countries; and to do that now in time of Truce, which was never done before in the heat of warre: the great zeal, that is, the great care, which they shew to have to the Publike, hath made them enter *Juliers*. Just such pretence as made them rebell against their Prince, and still perfidiously maintain the same rebellion. The King and Archduke are then justly incens’d by such an action; to resent the which, they have recruited their Army with new Souldiers, which Army is now met here at *Mastrick*; but before wee fall upon the affairs of *Juliers*, *Aquisgrane* being so neer, wee ought to turn our Forces against it, so to chastise the Heretiques of that City, according to the Deputation which the Archduke and Elector of *Cullen* have thereof from the Emperour. It is sufficiently known to all men, how affrontedly, and with how much scorn to the Imperiall Mandats, they have dared to usurp the Magistracie of that City, which was first in Catholique hands; so as in all reason, so unjust a violence must be redrest by a just Force: And this is that which ought first to be done: we will suddenly passe from thence to the throwing down of the Fortification of *Mulen*, which ought also to be done by the Archduke in the Emperours Name. Since *Brandenburg* would never obey the Imperiall Mandat procured by the City of *Cullen* to this end, wee will at the same time enter the Countrey of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and possesse our selves of what wee can there, as the United Provinces have done in the Town and Castle of *Juliers*, and as they would have done in other parts, had they not been hindred by the marching of our Forces. Though in the similitude of successe, the diversity of counsells will appear. For theirs would bee, not to go any more out of *Juliers*, whereas wee shall be ready to restore all the places which we shall possesse our selves of, to necessitate the United Provinces to do the like, and leave the Affairs of those Countries in their former condition. These are for the present the Kings and the Archdukes resolutions, which I have thought good thus briefly to acquaint you with; and this the order which is therein to be observed. It now remains that

“ we

"we see what the effects will be; and we may believe that there will be
 "no difficulty at all in them, onely this present Expedition may prove
 "displeasing unto us in this behalf, that we shall have the Keys of *Aquis-*
 "*grane* presented us before they be demanded; and that for our pastime
 "wee shall see the Fortification of *Mulen* slighted; and all the rest of
 "our endeavours follow. All which things will prove but sport and
 "pastime; wee having formerly been wont to march with the enemy
 "on our Flanck; and to place and finish our sieges with the enemy
 "in our face. We shall not now march with any Forces to withstand us;
 "and say that the United Provinces shall move after us, (as it may bee
 "believed they will) shall wee not have gained so much time, as our
 "principall designs shall not possibly meet with any disturbance? So as
 "having such advantage over our enemies, the United Provinces and
 "*Brandenburg* will be forc'd to suffer the controverted Countries to re-
 "turn into their first condition. They will be inforc'd hereafter to ab-
 "stain from Novelties and Usurpations; and lastly, the controversie
 "concerning that Countrey will of necessity (as it is just it should) be
 "ended by the ordinary way of the Empires Tribunall. Fraud is not
 "alwayes favoured by justice; but the perfidious are oft times punisht
 "by their own perfidioufnesse. Thus by securing our Catholike neigh-
 "bours, we shall likewise render our own Princes safety the more se-
 "cure; and thus the world by this new occurrencie shall see, that the
 "King and Archduke do never move their Forces, but when necessita-
 "ted either by just defence to maintain their own, or to free others from
 "unjust oppression.

Spinola spoke thus; and his discourse was suddenly by the Com-
 manders spread abroad among the Souldiers, who were all very much
 joyed thereat. *Spinola* went from *Mastrick* on the 22. of August, and
 was the same day in the Army; wherein, in all, were 2500. Spaniards
 with 800. Irish, under three Camp-Masters, which were Don *Inico di*
Borgia, *Simon Autanes*, and Don *John di Menestis*: 3000. Dutch, under
 their Colonel, the Count of *Emden*: 1700. Burgonians under the Ba-
 ron of *Balanfon* their Camp-Master: and 9000. Walloons under three
 Camp-masters, the Count *Ostrat*, the Signior *della Moteria*, and the Sig-
 nior *di Golefin*. These were all Foot, wherein was wanting a Brigado
 of 2000. Italian Foot, under the Camp-Master *Marcillo del Giadice*, who
 were lodged neer the *Rhine*, and who had orders not to stir, it being
 intended that they should bee set on work in those parts. To this pur-
 pose 7. Companies of Horse were likewise left thereabouts; and 18
 other Companies came to *Mastrick*. The Camp then consisted of 18000
 Foot, and 2500. Horse, with 12. pieces of Cannon, besides the Italian
 Foot, and 700. Horse, which came all to their rendezvous the said day in
 a large field, between *Mastrick* and *Aquisgrane*, where the Parado was
 made. A stately sight in truth, and worthy to bee frequently seen, i
 the Forces which Christians so often turn against themselves, were more
 joyntly turned against the enemies to the Name of Christ. The Army
 moved from the rendezvous in this order, towards *Aquisgrane*. Dor
Lewis di Falasco, Generall of the Horse, marched before the Foot with
 600. Horse, the Foot followed after in four Bodies, one after another.
 In the first were the Spanish Foot, with four piece of Artillery in their
 Front. In the second, the Dutch and Burgonians joyntly. In the third
 6000. Walloons with the rest of the Artillery; and in the last, the other
 3000.

3000. Walloons; after which came 600. Horse, which closed up the Army in the rear. The other 600. Horse were gone with *Bartholomeus Sanchius*, Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, before the Army moved, to possess a *Passé* whereby they might hinder the succour which perchance might be sent from *Juliers* to the Heretikes of *Aquisgrane*; which City is not above four easie hours march from *Juliers*; but no succour was sent them neither from thence, nor yet from any other part. There was not above two hours march from the rendezvous to *Aquisgrane*; so as the same day all the Army was quartered about it. *Aquisgrane* is a City of a large circuit, and lies almost wholly in a plain, save that in one part the earth rises. It is invironed with a Wall of ancient structure not any wayes fortified. In the upper side it is commanded by certain little Hills, within a musket shot of the Walls, so as the Cannon may at pleasure play upon the houses. It was generally thought that there being no more Souldiers there but those 600. Foot, which I spoke of before, and the people not being accustomed to Arms, the City Gates would bee suddenly thrown open: But the Heretikes continuing their contumacy, & being fomented in particular by one of the Burgomasters, who had been a chief Instrument of the violence used to the Catholikes; they would first hear what Propositions should be made unto them, by the Elector of *Cullen*, and the Archdukes Deputies; who entring the next morning into the City, they acquainted them with what Commission their Princes had from the Emperour, and desired that it might be effected. The Magistracie took time to Answer, and deferr'd to give their Answer longer then they should have done. *Spinola* wondred at this delay, so as hee sent Count *Henry de Berg* into the City, to exhort the Magistracy presently to obey, for otherwise their Cannon should forthwith make entrance for them; and to make his threats the more terrible, he gave present order for the planting of some pieces upon one of those Hills which did most command the City. At last at three dayes end the Heretikes were reduced to obedience, and sent forth the 600. Foot which they had within, so as the government was quickly put into the hands of Catholikes. And to secure the Catholike party, which was farre inferiour to the Hereticall, a Garison of 1200. Dutch, of the Count *Emdens* Regiment were left in *Aquisgrane*. The Heretikes feared lest the City should have been sackt by the Army: But *Spinola* had strict command from the Arch-duke at his departure from *Brussels*, not to suffer any such thing to be done. So as neither did the Souldiers enter the Town, nor did any other disorder insue. At this time, after so long delay, it was at last resolved in *France*, that Monsieur *di Rifugie* one of the chiefeft Councillors of that Court, should be sent into *Holland*: But upon the Armies meeting at the rendezvous. The English Embassadour was already arrived in *Holland*, and by the English Agent in *Brussels*, did forthwith very much presse the Arch-duke, that hee would cause the further proceeding of Arms to cease, giving assured hopes that the United Provinces would accept of the Proposition made by his King of depositing *Juliers* into Neutrall hands: To which the Arch-duke would by no means consent. Soon after the United Provinces declared that they did accept of the King of *Englands* Proposition; and that for the manner of doing it, they would refer themselves to the Embassadours of *France* and of *England*, who were then with them: the English Agent did therefore with much fervency urge his former

former desire; and the French Embassadour joyned with him therein: but the Archduke being encouraged by the successe at *Aquisgrane*, answered them; that he desired the depositing might first be done; and that he would then presently stop the further proceeding of the Army: otherwise that he would never consent thereunto upon bare promises; so as without any further losse of time, *Spinola* after he had reduced the affairs of *Aquisgrane* according to his desire, entred presently into the Country of *Juliers*; and marched with his Army against the Town of *Duren*, which is one of the chiefest of that Country: Those of the Town received in a Garrison of 600 Dutch, without any contradiction, as did some other Towns of small importance near *Duren*: at which time the Italians had possesst themselves of *Orsoi*; a place of important situation upon the Rhine: and they had already begun to throw a bridge of boats over the same River, at *Remburg*. *Spinola* marched that way, and in few dayes march brought the Army thither; and whilest the Army were upon their march, he went on the other side the Rhine to make a visit to the Duke of *Newburg* (the Palatine was now called Duke, his Father being just then dead) and his dutches, who were then at *Dosseldorp*: at the same time, the fortification at *Mulen* was thrown down without any obstacle, to the great joy of those of *Cullen*. The Catholick Army past the River at *Remburg*, and turned suddenly upon *Wessell*, a Town which lies a little lower upon the same River: in former times the City of *Wessell* was comprized under the Dukedome of *Cleves*; but for many years of late, licentiousnesse increasing with heresie, it became almost wholly free, and was governed as are the Hans Towns of *Germany*; so as since then they have acknowledged the Dukes of *Cleves* rather as their protectors then as their Princes. The Inhabitants are almost all Calvinists, and therefore have chiefly combined with the hereticks of those parts, who professe the same sect, and particularly with the United Provinces: from whom they have received most encouragement both by their Forces, and by the neighbourhood of their frontiers: the seat of *Wessell* is exceeding considerable, for on the one side it commands the Rhine, and on the other the *Lippa*, a River which falls into the Rhine: The Town is of a good circuit, and sufficiently fortified on one side; full of Inhabitants, given much to traffique, and so abounding in all things as it furnishes the neighbouring parts with all necessaries. The inhabitants of *Wessell* were much astonished, and affrighted when they saw the Army draw near it; they did not expect that the *Flanders* forces would reflect upon them, for they perswaded themselves, that their Town should be dealt withall likewise as *Newtral*, and as one of the Hans Towns of *Germany*. They had therefore formerly refused to receive a garrison offered them by the United Provinces; who having gathered many of their men together upon those frontiers, and when the Catholick Army drew near unto it, had offered to succour *Wessell*, yea, and if need should be, to take openly upon them their protection: and doubtlesly if *Wessell* had taken in any garrison of the United Provinces, *Spinola* would never have accosted it: for his orders from the Archduke were, not to wage war with any of the forces of the United Provinces, nor to give no occasion of the breach of Truce. The Catholick Army did soon begirt the Town on all sides, which seeming at first to make some resistance, and having made many shot out of the Town and killed some of the Catholick Army, forced *Spinola* to open his
Trenches,

Trenches, and plant his battery on the suburbs side: which when they began to play, the inhabitants finding they were not able to defend themselves, and that all succour was excluded from them, they resolved at the end of four dayes to yield upon some conditions; the chief article whereof was, that when the United Provinces should restore the Town and Castle of *Juliers*, the Town of *Wessell* should likewise be restored to its former condition *Spinola* advanced no further with his Army: his men were already too much diminished by reason of many garrisons which he had placed in sundry parts, and was still placing on both sides of the Rhine, so as he would not place any as he might have done in *Emerrick* and *Res*, two good Towns upon the Rhine, and near *Wessell*: whereupon Count *Maurice* losing no opportunity, and having with him 14000 Foot and 3000 Horse in the neighbouring parts, suddenly possessed himself of those two Towns, and afterwards of many other lesser ones in the same controverted Countries, on each side the Rhine: He had likewise received strict commission from the United Provinces not to meddle with the King of *Spains* nor the Archdukes Forces, to the end that all occasion of the breach of Truce might be likewise shunn'd on their sides; so as it was very observable that in these movings or Forces, the Souldiers of the one Army did not hinder the others proceedings, but oft times met one with another and proceeded friendly together; and he who came first took first possession without any manner of disturbance. *Spinola* took up his quarters near *Wessell*, and Count *Maurice* his near *Res*, within two hours march one of another; and the Duke of *Newburg* and his men vvhich vv ere 4000 Foot and 400 Horse, joyned with *Spinola*, as did also seven hundred of *Brandenburgs* Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the Prince Elector Palatine vvith *Maurice*. It cannot be said what commotion the taking of *Wessell* caused in *France*, in *England*, in *Germany*, and amongst all the hereticks; for fear lest the *Spaniards* out of various pretences might appropriate unto themselves a purchase of such concernment. Monsieur *De Refuge* vv as this mean vv hile come to *Brussels*, and going immediately vvith the Lieger French Embassadour to *Gaunt*, vvhere the Archduke and the Infanta his Wife, then vv ere; the first proposition vv hich he made vv as, that a suspension of Arms might be had on all sides, to the vv hich the Archduke answered, that he might go to *Holland*, and make the motion first there. *Refuge* before his departure would have had the Archduke promise to give way thereunto on his side, but could not get him so to do: yet the Archduke shewed some good inclinations thereunto, & told *Refuge*, that he should be glad such a Treaty for suspension of Arms might be had. as had already been motioned between *Spinola* and *Maurice*; vv hich did not take effect by reason of divers difficulties that vv ere therein met vvithall; nor vv as there any further talke of suspension: vv herefore as soon as *Refuge* vv as gone from *Gaunt* and come to *Holland*, he and the English Embassadour vv ere of opinion, that the readiest way to reconcile the two Princes vv as, that they two Embassadours should go to the Armies, and endeavour that a conference between deputies might be had in some fitting place thereabouts, by vv hose means the desired accommodation might be had. To this purpose *Refuge* and *Wotton* vv ent to the Armies, and having spoken vvith *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, vvith *Spinola* and *Maurice*, they agreed vvpon a conference in *Santen*, a Town vvithin the Dukedome of *Cleves*, near the Rhine, but on the contrary side, and almost equally distant from

from the one and the other Camp. Here met *Refuge* on the behalf of the King of *France*, and the French Embassadour who was resident in *Holland*; *Wotton* and the English Lieger Embassadour resident in *Holland* likewise, on the behalf of the King of *England*; *Pietro Pecquio* Chancelour of *Brabant*, and the Counsellor *Wiscer* for the Archduke; Three Deputies for the Elector of *Cullen*; Seven for the seven United Provinces; Two for the Elector Palatine; the which two did likewise represent the Union of all the heretick League of *Germany*: Three for *Brandenburg*, and three for *Newburg*. The conference began in the beginning of *October*: The chief drift of the French and English Embassadours, and the hereticks Deputies was, that this new agreement should relate to the former, which by procurement of the late King of *France*, of the King of *England*, of the United Provinces, and of the other Princes of the heretical League of *Germany* insued between the Duke of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Newburg*, as was shewn at first: and therefore those Embassadours and Deputies began to proceed joyntly in the conference, leaving out the Deputies of the Elector of *Cullen*, and of the Archduke: yet *Refuge* and *Wotton* acquainted these others with all that was done, and indeavoured, in all other demenour to appear as Mediators, not as parties; their chiefest diffidence was notwithstanding in the Archdukes deputies, out of the aim they had that when this new agreement should be made, it might not be acknowledged as from the Authority of the King of *Spain* and of the Archduke. These were the jealousies which were had at the beginning of the conference: it was not doubted by any of the Embassadours or Deputies, but that the too great communion in all things to which the two Princes were necessitated by the former agreement had been the chiefe cause of dissension between them; therefore care was had in this new agreement which was in Treaty, to make such a division as each of them should injoy severally half of the pretended states; and that except it were their Titles and some other things of common use, they should in all the rest be wholly divided one from another: one of the chief difficulties lay in the Town of *Juliers*, because that being munitied by a good Castle, 'twas thought that Town might be advantagious to him to whose share it should fall: it was therefore propounded that the Castle should be dismantled on the side towards the Town; or else that *Juliers* should remain in the hands of the United Provinces, and *Wessell* in the Archdukes hand, and both of these to be restored when the differences should be decided between the two Princes: and as for the main division, it was propounded, that one of the two Princes should divide, and the other should chuse; or else that each of them should possesse his severall half for six moneths, and then change halves for other six moneths, and that this course should be still continued: As concerning the dismantling of *Juliers*, the Embassadours of *France* and *England*, together with the Deputies of the United Provinces, and other hereticks, inclined more to this proposal then to leave that Town in possession of the United Provinces, to the end that *Wessell* might not remain in the King of *Spain*, and Archdukes hands: and for what concerned the main division, *Newburg* would have willingly accepted of the first proposal, which certainly was the justest, and likeliest to endure: but *Brandenburg* seemed to be more inclined to the second, to which the Deputies of the United Provinces did likewise stick very closely. To say truth, such a bargain appear d very strange,

for it might easily be foreseen, what confusion it would bring with it : it was long disputed between the Embassadours and Deputies upon this point ; and the chiefest contention was between *Refuge* and *Pecchio* : who because he had been Embassadour in ordinary from the Archduke, in *France*, and knew how much the French did favour the United Provinces, did therefore oppose *Refuge* stiffly when occasion served : at last the opiniatrency of *Brandenburg*, and of the United Provinces was such, as they drew over the Embassadours to prefer the second proposal of alternate possession, before the first of each Princes contenting himself with the half of the state apart. *Spinola* did presently acquaint the Archduke herewith, to whom for this purpose he sent the Count *Ottavio* Viscount, when being sent a little before into *Spain*, was now returned with a new supply of 300000 crowns, and was come to the Army to treat with *Spinola*. The Archduke desired very much to see the two Princes accorded ; that Arms should be laid down, and that all danger of breaking the Truce might cease ; the which was greatly likewise desired in *Spain*, as Viscount related : but on the other side the Archduke was much averse to the second proposal, thinking that by it the accommodation would not last long ; and that by this means the discord between the two Princes would rather be deferr'd then ended. The Spanish ministers of state were likewise very averse thereunto, and of all the rest the Embassadour did much presse the Archduke, that the King might be fully advertised, & that his will might be known, before the businesses in treaty should be fully concluded : The Archdukes resolution hereupon was, to send Viscount back again to the Army with directions to *Spinola*, to endeavour that the conference might be drawn out in length as long as possibly he could, that he might have time to advise thereof first in *Spain* ; which if it could not be done, he then left it to him to do upon the place what time and necessity should counsel : and because this was no better then to leave him a large liberty to agree ; the Spaniards storm'd cruelly, and chiefly that *Wessells* should be restored, and so great a purchase be lost which neither cost money, bloud, nor expence of time, without the Kings knowledge : whereupon the Embassadour resolved to dispatch away a messenger speedily to *Spain*, and writ thus by him to the King.

“How much the getting of *Wessell* concerns your Majesties affairs in
 “*Flanders*, the sorrow of your enemies do sufficiently manifest : they
 “are much displeased to see your Majesties Ensigns in the most impor-
 “tant seat of the whole Rhine ; and that that should be your Majesties
 “magazine of Arms in *Flanders*, which you may at any time upon any
 “occurrence draw from thence and remove whither your Majesties own
 “occasions, or those of your Queens, which are never sever'd from
 “yours, shall most require in these parts : then since there cannot be a
 “greater purchase, great consideration ought to be had before your Ma-
 “jesty deprive your self of it. The Archduke, and some other of your
 “Majesties ministers of state, fear that if *Wessell* be not suddenly resto-
 “red, the Truce with the United Provinces will break : and I and many
 “other of my opinion believe that they will rather the more willingly
 “continue it, out of hopes they may get *Wessell* from you by way of
 “Treaty ; for they see 'tis vain to think of getting it by force, and that
 “then the Truce would be broken with much more advantage to your
 “Majesty then to them : But if *Wessell* be restored, and that be done
 “which is so much desired by the United Provinces, and by your Ma-
 “jesties

"jesties greatest enemies; what security can there be had that the Pro-
 "vinces themselves will not endeavour the same invasion? is not the ex-
 "ample of *Juliers* fresh in memory? and of how much greater impor-
 "tance will this be unto them then that? *Juliers* is not seated upon their
 "Frontiers; whereas *Wessell* lies upon their principal Ports: Will your
 "Majestie know the true and right intentions of themselves, and of their
 "friends: They have imbraced (as your Majestie shall understand by
 "another Letter of mine) as the finall agreement between *Brandenburg*
 "and *Newburg*, an overture, whence confusion, and not quiet is to be ex-
 "pected between them; not peace in those parts, but greater troubles
 "then before: nor do they this with any other intention, but that the
 "United Provinces may have better opportunitie hereafter, to effect
 "that to their own advantage in the future troubles, which they have so
 "shamefully dared to do in the past troubles: yet for all this I am not
 "against the surrendering of *Wessell*, when it may stand with other more
 "important respects: but I would have it to be done, as also the agree-
 "ment at *Santen* to be concluded, when your Majestie shall be fully ac-
 "quainted with the whole proceedings, and when they shall have your
 "consent thereunto, and not before. All times will serve for losses,
 "but not for acquisitions: nay, when occasion is not laid hold of, she
 "escapes, and oft times faces about and proves adverse: those happy
 "successes which have insued, are chiefly due to your Majesties most
 "glorious Forces. And now that Justice and Fortune seem to contend
 "which of them shall favour them most; your Majestie will certainly
 "so husband this propitiousnesse, as that your wonted wisdom may like-
 "wise therein be admired.

These were the contents of the Letter; but before Viscounts return
 to the Army, it being every day more clearly seen what disorders would
 arise from the point of alternate possession, another way was found out,
 and finally concluded, which was: that as equal a division as might be,
 being made of the controverted states, and the lots being cast, he of the
 two Princes should chuse first, whose Lot should be first drawn: and be-
 cause they had already agreed upon the other lesse considerable points,
 they came at last to agree the whole capitulation; the substance where-
 of was this: "that the Souldiers which were introduced into whatsoe-
 "ver part of the said Countries should immediately be drawn from
 "thence: that the two Princes should ingage themselves, not to put any
 "Town of the said Countries into any whatsoever third hand; that all
 "Fortifications made by either side since May last should be demolished;
 "that all those who were either gone out, or driven out of those Countrys,
 "should be restored to their goods, offices and benefices: that all the in-
 "novations which had been made either in the Church or state, should
 "be reordered: that the two Princes should reside each of them severally
 "in the division that should fall unto him; provided that the said Coun-
 "tries should be thus divided: To wit, the Dukedome of *Cleves*, the
 "Counties of *Marca*, and of *Ravensburg*, the Lordship of *Ravesten*, and
 "some other Lordships and feudatories in *Brabant*, and in *Flanders*, on the
 "one part; and on the other, the Dukedomes of *Juliers*, and of *Berg*,
 "with all their dependencies. That each of the Princes should have
 "that part of those dominions, which should fall to his share by casting
 "lots: and that each of them should govern their proportion in the com-
 "mon name: that the offices and benefices of the said Countries should

“be bestowed by those two Princes, being disposed of Alternately each
 “of them their moneth about, accordingly as they should fall; and that
 “the publique revenues should be equally divided between them.

All which things the Princes were to ingage themselves by promise, and in the word of a Prince to keep inviolably. These Articles were subscribed by the Embassadours of *France* and *England*, by the deputies of the Elector Palatine of *Rhine*, and by those of the United Provinces; all which bound their Kings, Princes, and Superiours to see the agreement made good; and this was subscribed only by the Embassadours and above said Deputies, because as I have said, they pretended that the present agreement should have relation to the former, which was made by the two Princes by the authoritie and intercession of the same Crowns, and the prenominated Heretique Potentates. *Brandenburg*, and *Newburg* did afterwards subscribe and ratifie the capitulation, and obliged themselves to observe them: The agreement being thus concluded, the first Article which was to be put in execution, was to draw the Armies out of those Countries: 'Twas thought necessary that the removing them from thence should be done with such cautiousnetle, as there should be no occasion of future leavying of Forces, through any such novelties as had before hapned: Whereupon a treaty was had between *Spinola* and Count *Maurice*, whereby each of them should oblige themselves expressly in writing to bring in no more forces in time to come, nor to endeavour any invasion in those Countries; which writing was afterwards to be ratified by the King of *Spain* and the Archduke on the one side, and by the United Provinces on the other side; but there arose presently divers difficulties about the form of the words. *Spinola* desired the declaration might be free and absolute; *Maurice* would have it only refer to the agreement at *Santen*; which *Spinola* thought not convenient, because the Archdukes Deputies were not suffered to subscribe unto the agreement: some dayes were spent about the form of this Declaration: and the Embassadours laboured very much to contrive it so as it might satisfie all parties, but still the difficulties grew the greater, the more they strove to overcome them. 'Twas now *December*, and the Embassadours growing weary of these new delaies which arose in the execution of the Agreement, resolved to be gone: when the messenger who was sent to *Madrid* by the Spanish Embassadour who was at *Brussels*, returned from thence to the Catholique Camp, who brought peremptory commission that the agreement at *Santen* should not be fully concluded, without the Kings privity, and that in the mean while *Wessell* should not be restored, and that the state of affairs should continue in their present condition; at this mans arrival there was a stay made of all things. The Embassadours much incensed, would tarry no longer, but departed suddenly for *Holland*: and the other Deputies returned to their own homes. *Maurice* distributed his Army into divers parts; and *Spinola* did the like: leaving 3000 Foot in *Wessell*, part Spaniards, part Walloons, and 300 Horse, with a Fort on their flank on the other side of the Rhine. *Spinola* returned afterwards to *Brussels*, whither Duke *Newburg* resolved likewise to come, to thanke the Archduke for the favours he had received from him, and to speak with him at nearer distance of his affairs: a little before the conclusion of the Treaty at *Santen*, Count *Zalleren* was come to the Catholique Camp, who was sent from the Emperour to the Archduke to endeavour that the agreement might not

not be concluded any wayes to the prejudice of the Imperiall Authority or Interest: *Matthias* would have had it ordered so, as that the controverted Countries of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, might rest in him by way of sequestration, till the main cause should be decided: And hee likewise desired that no agreement might in any means bee made between *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, to the prejudice of the Duke of *Saxony*. Count *Zoleren* prest very much upon these two points. He came afterwards to *Brussels*, at the same time that *Newburg* resolved to go thither, and did in person renew his desires with the Arch-duke so much the more, for that he had the fitter occasion to do so, by reason that the affairs between *Brandenburg* and *Newburg* were at a stay. When *Newburg* and *Spinola* were come to *Brussels*, the Arch-duke desirous fully to justifie in *Spain* whatsoever had been done on his behalf, gave a particular account unto the King of all that was treated on, and concluded at *Santen*, and of the difficulties which arose afterwards between *Maurice* and *Spinola* about the withdrawing of their Forces, all that he added was rather to shew his resenting what the Embassadour had written, to justifie what he himself had done.

“Your Majesties (said hee) may then haply comprehend that it was
 “not possible to hinder the agreement, since the issue thereof depended
 “upon those who did subscribe it. The resolution of entring upon, and
 “of restoring, was at first taken, as your Majestie very well knows
 “by your knowledge and consent, nor can the particular promise bee
 “denied, which was made to restore *Wessell* when *Juliers* should bee
 “restored. And who can doubt but that to go against it, will produce
 “great jealousies in *France*, in *England*, in the *United Provinces*, and
 “in all the rest of the Hereticall League in *Germany*? and that all those
 “that are interessed will not by all means possible endeavor the executi-
 “on thererof? suspicions do not always end in suspicions: But the fire of
 “publike evils beginning thus to creep, doth at last break forth into
 “high flames of Troubles. In brief, whether will your Majestie have
 “the Truce continue, and have *Wessell* restored; or will you have it
 “broken, which may easily bee done by keeping possession of *Wessell*?
 “I cannot think your Majestie can so farre undervalue those reasons
 “which induced you to lay down Arms, as that you will bee now in-
 “duced to reassume them without apparent necessity. For what con-
 “cerns us, I do not finde our affairs much bettered yet: nor do I esteem
 “the acquisition of *Wessell* to bee of so great Importance, as that for it
 “*Flanders* bee to be again involved in a more bitter warre then was the
 “former. This restitution is particularly due to the Tribunall of
 “publike Faith, and those actions may be esteemed very advantagious
 “which by the sole end of Justice, shall also compasse the end of profit.
 “May your Majesty bee pleased to consider the good successe that wee
 “have had. How well are the affairs of *Aquisgrane*, and *Mulen* settled?
 “How well are the Duke of *Newburgs* affairs restablisht? and the Ca-
 “tholike cause, which must always bee equally the *Austrian* cause, re-
 “mains in all other points, in much better condition hereabouts then
 “doth the Hereticall Faction. We must then make good use of these suc-
 “cesses; which doth not lie in going about immaturity to atchieve grea-
 “ter. Fortune is variable; shee is gone when we least think on t, and
 “huggs her self when she makes the greatest of Mortals the greatest
 “laughing stocks.

The

The Arch-duke wrote concisely thus unto the King; and exhorted him with much efficacie, that hee would give way to the things as they were agitated and concluded. It was two moneths before any answer came from the King, who would well weigh the resolution which was to bee taken in so important an affair. And at last his answer was this; "That the agreement at *Santen* should be put in execution, that *Wessell*, "and all the other places possiest should bee restored, when the United "Provinces should do the like; with such security, as there should be no "more cause of fear, of their making hereafter any new invasion in the "Countreys of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. As soon as this answer was come, the Duke of *Newburg* went from *Brussels* to *Germany*, to take possession of his Patrimoniall estate: and as for the execution of what was concluded on in *Santen* he left the disposall thereof, and of his interest therein freely to the Arch-duke. Hee had stayed about some two moneths in *Brussels*, in which time hee oft-times discoursed at large, with me about his affairs; and seemed to bee much bound to the Pope, who had so affectionately assisted him; and in all other things shewed such wisdom and piety, as the winning of such a Prince, at that time over to the Catholike cause, particularly in *Germany*, was to be really esteemed a great purchase to the universall cause of the Church. Diverse negotiations were at this time had between him and Count *Zoleren*; *Zoleren* would have had him to have cast himself freely upon the Emperours Judgement in the cause of the controverted states; and that hee should have received the Electour of *Saxony* for his companion in the possession of those Countreys, that so hee might the easier drive out *Brandenburg*, who openly declared his contumacy against the Emperour. *Newburg* seemed willing to submit himself to the Imperiall Judgement, but upon condition that his present affairs might not be impaired by the uncertainty of future hopes. The Arch-duke had received full Authority from the Emperour to agree those motions made by *Zoleren*; but hee thought it fitting to see first what the issue of the agreement at *Santen* would bee: wherefore though *Newburg* went away, *Zoleren* stayed at *Brussels*; and the Arch-duke began suddenly after the resolution was come from *Spain*, to set on foot the endeavouring a promise of not introducing any Forces for the future, under whatsoever pretence into the controverted Countreys of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, not between *Spinola* and *Maurice*, but between himself and the United Provinces. Many moneths were herein consumed with much prolixity; for the negotiation proceeded very slowly, which was to bee mannaged by Letters, sometime by the way of *France*, sometimes by the way of *England*, sometimes by the way of *Holland*. Many were the difficulties, none of which could ever bee overcome. That which pleased one party, raised jealousie in the other. The United Provinces following Count *Maurice* his first sence, would that this promise should have reference to the agreement at *Santen*: and the Arch-duke seconded therein by *Spinola*, said that was not fitting to be done. They discoursed of referring this promise to the two Kings of *France* and of *England*, without any mention of the agreement at *Santen*, but hereunto did the Count *Zoleren* oppose himself, pretending that they should first addresse themselves to the Emperour. Thus amidst these contestations, and other pertinacious niceties of words, all Treaties finally ceased; and Count *Zoleren*, after having tarried six moneths at *Brussels*, returned likewise towards *Germany*: This mean while the Spanish

Spanish Forces remain in the states of *Cleves* and *Juliers* on the one side, and on the other those of the United Provinces: and it is to be believed they may tarry there a good while: as far as the exterior Title goes, *Brandenburg* and *Newburg* enjoy and do possesse the government: but in states he who hath the power, hath the possession: and petty Princes may learn by this new example, not easily to call in greater Potentates to their assistance.



The Relation of the Flight of HENRY OF BURBONE Prince of CONDE, from *France*: First Prince of the Bloud. And of what hapned till his return to PARIS.



FRANCE did enjoy Peace and Quiet in an high degree in the latter years of the reign of *Henry* the fourth, one of the greatest and most memorable Kings that that Kingdom ever had: when unexpectedly about the end of the year 1609. there arose a sad accident, which presently disordered all things, and ended at last in the Kings death. *Henry* had won great glory in War so long, as being first an Heretique, and then a Catholique, he was compelled to use his Forces against his Domestick and Forrain Enemies, who withstood his accessse to that Crown; which when he was arrived at, and had laid down his arms both at home and abroad, he afterwards purchased no lesse glory by making *France* flourish for many years in great peace and prosperitie; so that his praise was noised over the whole world; and 'twas generally held, that of a long time there had not been a King of a clearer renown and who was better parted for government either in Peace or War: His fame seemed only to be a little clouded by his having appear'd to be, and by his being still too much given to the pleasures of love; so as he might be said to be therein a rival to *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*; as well as he was to both of them in unvanquisht military valour: he was married to *Mary of Medicis*, a Princessse very vertuous, beautiful, and fruitful: yet this so strait a tie could not suffice to bridle this his domineering passion: but commonly glutted with that delight which he enjoyed without contest, he did not forbear to contract new loves, and to passe from one to another according as he met with new objects to kindle new desires. A little before his death there appeared at Court a rare beauty, who had drawn upon her all the eyes of the Court, and those of the King more then all the rest.

An. 1609.

This

This beautiful Lady was *Margaret of Memerancy*, daughter to the Constable of *France*. The King from first likings grew so passionately to love her, as not able to conceal his flame, it broke forth in many outward demonstrations, till every body took notice of it. The Prince of *Conde* was cousin to the King; who in his youth being born and bred up an heretique, did afterwards embrace the Catholique Faith: and because none other of the blood royal was so near a kin unto the King, all the Parliaments of *France* had acknowledged *Conde* as lawful successour to the Crown, before the King had married his second wife and had children by her. The King having made sure his own succession, *Conde* remained first Prince of the blood: A place of great prerogative in *France*, and which bore great consequences with it: they began already to think of a wife for him, and the aforementioned *Margaret*, the Constables daughter was judged to be fittest consort for him. *Conde* was then about 22 years old, and he was not ignorant of the Kings new affection: but thinking his marrying of *Margaret* would be a sufficient remedy to make the King bridle his passion, the marriage proceeded, and the wedding was solemnly celebrated; but he soon found he was deceived. The greater the obstacles grew on *Margarets* behalf, the greater grew the Kings heat: He for a while concealed his fire, which growing the more intense by being kept in, it at last broke forth into high towering flames. Finding he was no longer able to make resistance, he went about by divers means and practises to compass his desires: *Conde* watched him; and being full of thoughts, he at last imagined that the best means to save his honour was to remove his wife from the Court; whereupon he carried her to a house of his some leagues distant from *Paris* towards *Picardy*: when the King knew this, he was highly moved; hatred was sodainly joynd unto his love; so as first under colourable pretences, and afterwards by downright threats he made *Conde* be told, who came often by starts to *Paris*, that he should do well to bring his wife to Court: and in the meantime not being able to bear with her absence any longer, he (as it was commonly reported) disguised, & accompanied but by a few, one day rid many leagues to see her in a certain place where she was to hunt. *Conde* feign'd to be willing to do what the King desired, and to this end seemed as if he went to fetch his wife, but with a firm resolution in secret, to carry her out of *France*: nor was he long in doing it. All things necessary being prepared for his flight rather then for his departure; he and his wife with two of her women went into a Coach of eight horses, and being followed only by three or four of his most trusty servants, and some pacing horses he went unexpectedly towards the Frontiers of *Flanders* on the side of *Artoise*, which was the nearest part of those Countries: when the Coach-horses were tired; he and his wife got upon the pacing geldings. The hazard of his honour did not only adde wings to *Conde's* haste, but even the hazard of his life, which the Kings anger called to his mind; so as he never staid till he came to *Landresie*, a considerable Town on the Frontiers of *Artoise*, where he thought he might with safety tarry a while: he suddenly sent a Gentleman of his from thence, to acquaint Archduke *Albertus* with what had befallen him, who was then for his recreation at *Marimonte*, with the Infanta his wife: a place situated towards the Frontiers of *France*; and desired that he might have leave to come unto him himself in person. The Archduke feared lest the King of *France* might be hereat offended, so as in civil terms he refused to receive him: and

and also let him understand that he would not suffer him to tarry within his territories, through the which he might notwithstanding freely pass, if he would go unto any other part. *Conde* not being suffered to tarry in the Archdukes states, went presently to *Juliers*, where then the Archduke *Leopold* was, being sent thither by the Emperour, about the differences that hapned about the succession of the Dukedome of *Cleves*, the Duke whereof was dead without children: from hence he past to *Cullen*, and had from thence according to the ancient freedom of the Imperial Towns, a safe conduct to bring him thither. This was the occasion, and this the successe of the Prince of *Conde's* flight. But the King of *France* understanding the Prince of *Conde's* resolution, and being very much incensed against him, gave forth many orders immediately that he should be followed with all possible speed, and taken: he was not only mad to see the Princess so far removed from Court, but for that he knew this action of the Prince, might occasion many dangerous novelties to his Kingdom, his own great age considered, and the tender years of his children. The King agitated by so fierce and potent passions, had used all diligence that *Conde* might be overtaken, and detained: amongst others he had dispatht away Monsieur *du Pralin*, one of the Captains of his guard, with orders, that if he could not reach him, he should forthwith go to the Archduke, towards whose Frontiers 'twas imagined he was gone: and that he should use all the means he could to make him be detained. *Pralin*, and all the others, failing in their hopes of overtaking him; *Pralin* accompanied with the French Embassadour then at *Brussels*, went to acquaint the Archduke with the Kings desires: they made many complaints against the Prince, and spoke bitter things; they said:

"That his suspicions of any danger to his wives honour, were false
 "and feigned; as were also all other fears by which he seemed to cloak
 "his flying from *France*; saying, how could he expect any violence from
 "the King? a Prince no ways given thereunto, and who was not like-
 "ly to use it to his cousin: that it was rather his ambition and ligeretie,
 "instigated by bad advice, which had made him take so strange and so
 "unexpected a resolution: which could tend to nothing else but to di-
 "sturbe *France* with some novelty plotted to this end: that therefore
 "the King did promise unto himself out of his neighbourhood, and al-
 "wayes profest friendship to the Archduke, that he would cause *Conde*
 "be detained, in case he should be in *Flanders*; and that he would by
 "all means facilitate his return to *France*: that they did both of them
 "intreat this favour from him in their Kings name with much earnest-
 "nesse: that he should consider what the event of this might be: and
 "lastly, that he should remember, that such incounters were never so ap-
 "propriated to one only Prince, but that their example might reach un-
 "to others.

The Archdukes answer was, "That he conceived he had fulfilled
 "his part to the King, by his not receiving the Prince: that it had not
 "been just to deny a Prince of his condition, passage through his Coun-
 "tre: that he was already gone elsewhere; but that if by any intercession
 "of his he could perswade him to return for *France*, he was ready to do
 "it, and to shew how much he desired the Kings satisfaction in particu-
 "lar, and the publique peace of his Kingdom.

The Prince of *Orenge* was at this time in his Town of *Breda*, not far
 from *Antwerp*, with the Princess his wife, who was sister to *Conde*:
 X he

he therefore came with his wife presently to *Brussels* being by *Conde* desired so to do; who that he might go the sooner to *Cullen* took a nearer way, and had caused the *Princesse* his wife to come to *Brussels*, that she might entertain her self there with her sister till some other resolution were taken. The *Princesse* of *Conde* was then 16 years old; and her beauty was judged by all men to be answerable to the fore-running fame thereof: she was very fair; her eyes full of sweetnesse, very becoming in her speech, and in all her gestures; she owed all the commendations of her beautie naturally to its self, for she did not help it with any womanly art: Soon after the Archduke and the Infanta returned to *Brussels*; the Archduke did immediately visit her, and the Infanta made her many curteous offers: in this interim of time, the chief state ministers of *Spain*, who had not been with the Archduke at *Merimonte*, had heard what had past between him and the Prince of *Conde* there. They thought the Archduke had done ignobly in not suffering the Prince to tarry in *Flanders*, and in seeming so willing to satisfie the King of *France*: but *Spinola* seemed chiefly to be hereat scandalized, who did manage the Spanish affairs in *Flanders*, principally: He could not endure that the Archduke should let slip so fair an occasion of making some advantage of the King of *France* his troubles. He said:

“That the Archduke had no reason to fear that the King of *France* would have taken up Arms against him for permitting *Conde* to live in safety in *Flanders*: that to fight in open field with armed Troops, was no other matter then to fall on Stags in a Forrest, as that King knew better then all others. ’Twas therefore to be thought that rather then to break into open war, he would have endeavoured to have regain’d *Conde* into *France*, and to have regained some hopes of his Mistris by Treatie: nay, it was rather to be believed that if *Conde* had been protected in *Flanders*, the endeavour of his reconciliation might have produced many advantageous effects, as wel in facilitating the interchangeable match between the two Crowns, whereof divers overtures had already been made, as in many other respects which might concern their good, and joyntly the good of all Christendome: that suspicion had its power even amongst Princes, and did oft times prevail with them more then friendship; but that in whatsoever manner the Prince of *Conde* should have been detained in the Catholique Kings and Archdukes hands, there could not have been a fairer nor a fitter occasion wisht for whereby to bridle the King of *France* his immoderate desires: that he had made himself Arbitrator of the Truce lately made in *Flanders*; that the differences touching the succession of the House of *Cleves* did at this time depend upon his Arbitrement; that he would take upon him the title of being the general Arbitrator of *Europe*, and exercise the Authoritie thereof: and what authoritie was lesse tolerable then to impede so great and so just Princes as were the King of *Spain* and the Archduke from the just priviledge of protecting the oppressed? especially such a one as the Prince of *Conde*? oppressed by such a one as he? whereas he, since the last peace made with the Catholique King, had given Protection in *France* to *Anthony Peres*, an officer who had been very unfaithful to the Crown of *Spain*; and had not only protected him, but given him a stipend, and did him all possible honour even in the face of his Court: of how different a quality was *Conde*? How different his cause? and how could he better justifie his flying from
“*France*?

“*France*? which (let the King say what he pleased) was occasioned
 “out of meer necessity of saving his honour, and of securing his very
 “life.

Marquesse *Spinola*, together with all the rest of the Spanish officers broke forth into such like complaints as these; and not herewithall content, they indeavoured by all means they could to imprint the same sence in the Archduke, who was a very moderate Prince; and who having not many moneths before wraстled through many difficulties, in the Truce of *Flanders* to purchase peace, would not give occasion of beginning a new and more heavy war with the King of *France*: but on the other side the Archdukes interest did so depend upon the King of *Spain*s concernments, as he at last suffered himself to be perswaded by the aforementioned reasons: *Conde* was then invited to come to *Brussels* by an expresse messenger sent by Marquesse *Spinola*, with letters from himself and from the Catholique Embassadour; and the pretence was this: *Villeroy*, chief Secretary of state to the King of *France*, had told the Embassadour of *Flanders* who was resident at *Paris*, that the King was very much offended, that *Pralin*, and his Embassadour resident at *Brussels*, could not be permitted to see *Conde*, to give him such advice as was fitting, and whereby he mought peradventure have been perswaded to have returned to *France*. The King himself afterwards told the Embassadour as much, declaring that he would have been very well pleased if *Conde* mought have been made to return. The Archduke hereupon pretending to cause *Conde* to come, to the end that the French ministers of State might speak with him, and endeavour an accommodation between him and the King, offering himself to be ready to do the like, he gave way that *Conde* should be invited to come to *Brussels* in manner aforesaid; where he arrived about the end of December 1609. Hee lighted at the Prince of *Orenge* his house, and was accompanied by the Catholike Embassadour, and by all the chief Lords of the Court, when hee made his first addresse to the Arch-duke and the Infanta, who received him with much civility, & with such honor as his quality required. This mean-while the Answer vvich vvvas expected concerning his person, was come from *Spain*; which was this: That he might be permitted to live safely in *Flanders*, that the King took him into his protection, and that he should injoy it with all favourable advantages. At his first coming to *Brussels* there was no discourse at all had of his reconciliation with the King of *France*; for the Kings Embassadour had not as yet had any particular Commission concerning it, to boot that it was thought the King would send an Extraordinary Embassadour about it. But *Conde* encouraged by the Answer from *Spain*, sought so much the more to justifie his coming from *France*, he gave two Letters particularly to me; the one of which he writ to the Pope, the other to Cardinall *Burghese*, the Popes Nephew. The contents of them were:

“That moved thereunto out of the danger of his life and honour,
 “hee was inforced to flee from *France*, and that hee recommended his
 “affairs to the Popes protection, and the Cardinals Mediation.

It was thought that he really had just occasion to forgo *France*; but for what he said touching the violence prepared to be used against him by the King, and that his life was in danger, it was not generally credited. For every one knew that the King never dealt in his love affairs, but by usuall wayes: and amongst all his vertues he was famous for none more then his clemency. I sent away the Letters; but I did not omit to tell

him what became me, both for his, and for the publike good. I had first likewise done such offices with the Arch-duke, and the Spanish State Ministers tending to concord and peace, as I thought fittest upon such an occurrence; which I did afterwards oft reiterate, by particular orders from the Pope. I found the Arch-duke much disposed to work an accommodation, between the Prince and the King; and he seemed to hope to effect it; Judging amongst other reasons, that *Conde* out of the naturall facility of the Truth, would bee as easily perswaded to return to *France*, as he was to come from thence. The Spanish States-men seemed likewise very desirous to accommodate *Conde*: But it was known that neither they nor the Arch-duke would bee displeased, if the Treaty might meet with some difficulty; in such a manner notwithstanding, as that the King of *France* might thereby bee involved in some domestique troubles, and that the affairs abroad might not break out into open war. As for the form of the accommodation, *Conde* declared publicly that hee would never trust himself integrally and freely in the Kings hands. He propounded, that to the end his abode in *France* might be void of all danger, the King might assigne unto him some particular Town in *Guinea*, (of which Province hee was Governour) vvhich might bee farthest distant from *Paris*, and the nearest that might bee to the Frontiers of *Spain*. Hee aftervvard altered his opinion, and vvvas afraid of any condition vvhich might oblige him to tarry in *France*. He spake of retiring himself into some neutrall Town of *Germany*, or *Italy*: he seemed as if he vvould go into *Spain*; and finally he pitcht upon no certain course: Such doubts and such confusions appeared to him in vvhatsoever settlement.

But the King of *France* his thoughts vvvere much othervvise. Hee vvould that the Prince of *Conde* should remit himself freely into his hands: being first assured that he vvould forgive him all his faults. The King resolved to send the Marquesse *de la Courre*, one of the valiantest and most esteemed Subjects of all *France*, to the Arch-duke, to propound this accommodation. When the Marquesse was come to *Brussels*, he in his first Audience, exaggerated what good turns the King had done unto the Prince and then fell mightily to blame *Condees* actions, and largely to justifie those of the Kings. He told the Arch-duke,

“That the onely way to work *Condees* accommodation, was for him
 “to return into *France*, and to put himself wholly into the Kings hands;
 “who would not onely sincerely pardon him, but in all benigne manner receive him, and restore him to his former favour: That hee
 “therefore desired the Arch-duke to perswade *Conde* thereunto; which
 “if hee should seem averse unto, the King would beleeeve for certain,
 “that the Arch-duke had made him leave *France*; since he had suffered
 “him to return to *Flanders*, out of an intention onely of bringing him
 “by his means to an easier accommodation with the King.

This was the first passage between *la Courre* and the Arch-duke. To which he at the first was answered but in generals; yet full of efficacious offers, whereby the Arch-duke did again promise to do what hee could to bring *Conde* to an accommodation. But *la Courre* said in more direct termes to others, that the Prince was received into *Flanders* upon expresse condition, that in case his affairs should not bee agreed with the King, hee was to be made to go from thence by the Arch-duke, and that this was no more then what the Embassadour of *Flanders* had told the
 King

King at *Paris*. He afterwards spoke of this condition openly to the Arch-duke; who denied it, and said: that he had made *Conde* return into *Flanders* meerly to afford the French ministers of State means to Treat with him, and to endeavour his reconciliation with the King, as hee himself would likewise have done without making any condition.

The Arch-duke wondred to hear the French speak after this manner; and thought it not lesse strange to bee desired by *la Cour*, in the Kings name, that if *Conde* should bee made to quit *Flanders*, his wife should notwithstanding be detained there, and should be sent back to the Constable her Father, and to Madame *d'Angulesme* her Aunt, by whom the Princessse was brought up after her Mothers death, who had left her very young. But the meaning of this was soon discerned: Wherefore the Arch-duke and the Infanta did constantly withstand it: answering that they would never dispose of the Princessse otherwise then as the Prince her Husband should please. During this time many overtures were made touching *Condees* affairs, and the Prince of *Orenge*, his brother in law laboured particularly therein. At last, *Conde* seemed to be content to withdraw himself into some neutrall City either in *Germany*, or *Italy*, provided he might enjoy the entertainment he received in *France*, which was 40000 Crowns a year. But *la Cour* stood more firme then ever to his former proposition, and said;

“That the King was not to capitulate with any of his Vassals, nor to consent that the Prince of *Conde* should prescribe lawes unto him. That therefore he should do well to return to *France*, and to put himself into the Kings hands, which if he would do, hee might be sure never to hear of any thing that was past. Hee said moreover, that *Condees* living in *Germany*. or in *Italy*, were to leave him dependant upon the *Spaniard*. What occasions would they thereby take to nourish his unquietnesse? Would not this bee to leave him as it were deposited amongst them, whereby to trouble the King now, or *France* when the King should be dead? That therefore the King would neither live with these suspitions, nor leave such occasion of trouble to his Kingdom when he should be dead. That he was resolved to know, and that suddenly what would become of *Conde*; and that if it should appear the *Spaniards* would make use of him to those ends, the King had determined to prevent those evils which should bee prepared against *France*, by making *Spain* first sensible of the like, as much as in him lay.

The Marquesse *de la Cour* mixt these threats amongst his friendly mediations: He was of himself highly spirited, and full of warlike thoughts, which were mightily supplied in him, by the great height and reputation which the King of *France* was then in. But *Conde* would by no means hear of returning into *France*. Hee thought not any whatsoever security safe for him to escape out of the Kings hands, if hee should once come within them. *Orenge* was likewise of the same opinion: who to make the *French* perswade the King to bee content with the proposition of the Prince his Brother in lawes, abiding in some neutrall Town of *Germany*, or *Italy*, shewed that it would bee much better to do so, then by making the Prince despair, necessitate him consequently to throw himself wholly upon the *Spaniards*. But it was impossible to make the *French* move any such thing to the King. They yeilded onely that the Arch-duke might do it by his Embassadour; who found great repugnancy

repugnancy in the King, and that he would never condescend thereunto, nor ever accept of any thing, but the Prince his putting himself freely into the Kings hands. The which the Prince was as resolute not to do. This was the publike Negotiation: But the French laboured at the same time, much more in another secret affair; which was, that they might finde some means how to steal away the Princeesse privately, and carry her into *France*. A strange undertaking, and certainly very hard to compassse: but notwithstanding it was generally noised, and beleevd in *Flanders*. And I, affirming nothing for certain, will onely say what the publike fame in that point was; which proves notwithstanding a false witness in humain affairs; and oft times fains malignant inventions, and makes them be too easily beleevd by malignant hearers. There appeared but little love between the Prince and Princeesse; were it either by reason of the difference of their natures, or because she was not well pleased to bee brought out of *France*: or that peradventure there wanted not some who thinking to please the King, endeavoured to keep them at odds. Wherefore without any delay, as soon as *la Cour* was come to *Brussels*, the Princeesse was secretly set upon in private, to suffer her self to bee conveyed away into *France*. Shee was much in suspense, to hear of such a proposall on the one side, she was not much satisfied with the Prince; shee abhor'd to be in the Spaniards hands; shee was not well pleased with the Court of *Flanders*, as too much differing from that of *France*: shee mightily desired to bee with her Father and Aunt, who by very kind Letters appear'd to desire the like. But on the other side, to part thus with her Husband; to suffer her self to bee stolne away in secret; to go away with so much danger of being brought back; and to expose the successe thereof to such variety of judgement as would bee thereby soon occasioned, were all of them reasons which might make her very unresolute what to do. After having a while wavered between these ambiguities; overcome at last by her still increasing desire of returning to *France*, shee consented to suffer her self to be carried thither, out of her Fathers and her Aunts often instigations, and pressing her to return to *Paris*. The designe of the French was, to steal her by night privately out of *Brussels*, and to advance so farre towards the neereft confines of *France*, as when they should bee discovered they could not bee overtaken. But many things were to bee prepared before they could execute this their designe. They must either scale the walls of the City, or make holes thorow it: they must have pacing Horses in *Brussels*, and in sundry stages between it and *France*, to set the Princeesse on; and at the same stages have horse-men who might oppose such as should come from *Brussels* to stay her. There was therefore many difficulties in the businesse; and great foresight was to bee had to prevent them; so as it was impossible it should be carried so secretly, but that it must be smelt. Count *Buckquoye* was the first that discovered it, Generall of the Artillery in *Flanders*, who suddenly acquainted the Arch-duke and *Spinola* with it. And taking into consideration what course was best to be taken to frustrate the designe; it was thought fittest, without making of any noise, under some colour, or other to bring the Princeesse into the Palace to bee neer the Infanta. The Arch-duke and Spanish Officers took their pretence from those dislikes which were observed between her and the Prince her Husband, and carried the businesse so, as that the Prince himself should make the motion. To the which he was easily

easily perswaded; having a short promise both from the Arch-duke and the Infanta, not to suffer his wife to depart from them without his knowledge. It was thought the Princess her self would be content to be with the Infanta; as well out of the little satisfaction shee seemed to receive in the Prince her Husbands company; as out of hope that when her Husband should be gone, she might the easilier obtain her liberty, and return to *France*. Out of these hopes she was content to be brought neer the Infanta, till shee saw what the event would bee of the Prince his businesse. The Marquesse *de la Cour* was likewise herewith content; but did not notwithstanding forgo his plot of stealing the Princess out of *Flanders*. He saw that if this businesse had been well handled, it might soon have been done, and would have been a great shame to the Spaniards, and a lively resentment of that distaste which his King had taken against them. Whereas it would be a hard matter to get the Princess out of the Palace when shee should once be there. This was the crafty proceeding of the one and the other party, each hoping to delude the other. The day was now at hand wherein the Princess was to be received into the Palace, and the French were not yet in readinesse to effect their design: So as to gain some delay of time they had recourse to this remedy. They thought (though they were therein deceived) that Marquesse *Spinola* was in love with the Princess: amongst other things she danced admirably well, and took much delight therein, wherefore they made her pray *Spinola* to prevail so far with the Archduke and the Prince her husband, as that her coming to live in the Palace might be put off for three or four dayes: feigning that she very much desired first to see an intertainment and mask which was to be made in the Prince of *Orenge* his house, and where *Spinola*'s self was to bring the musick, as the custome of *France* and *Flanders* is: but *Spinola* perceived the concealed cunning, and in as handsome terms as might be, made it so difficult a businesse, as the Princess grew out of all hope of procuring the mentioned delay. The French were troubled at this answer; but it withheld them not from their design: it was on a Sabbath day the 13 of *February*, the year 1610. and the next Lords day twas thought for certain that the Princess was to come to the Palace: whereupon the French ordering their affairs the best they could, resolved however to venture upon the businesse that very night: and lest the Prince by lying with her (though he did so but very seldom) might disturbe the plot, they made her counterfeit to be sick the night before. The French Embassadors Lady, who was of the plot, kept still by her: *La Cour* likewise, and the French Embassador were not long absent from her; and all of them stood longing that the day might passe over, which preceded the desired hour of the succeeding night. This mean while Count *Buckquoy* advertised the Archduke how all things passed: *Conde* knew not as yet of any thing that hath been said; for the Archduke hoping that the plot would fall of its self by the Princess her coming to the Palace, had not acquainted him with it, that he might not afford him any occasion of divulging it, and consequently of irritating the King of *France* with further distastes: but seeing affairs thus far advanced, he thought it good that *Spinola* should communicate the whole businesse to *Conde*, as he did; and counselled him to desire the Archduke that he would set a certain number of his own horse-guard that night to guard the Prince of *Orenge* his house. *Conde* was amazed to hear of this, and forthwith went to the Archduke,

who

who gave speedy order for the desired guard: *Conde* entring hereupon into new suspicions, it is not to be said how much he was troubled: and not able to contain himself, he was not well come from the Archduke, when he began to divulge it in the outer rooms; so as it was suddenly known every where; he did not speak, he rather exclaimed against the King; against *la Courre*, and the French Embassadour in ordinary; taking on, and afflicting himself as if his wife had already been taken away; and as if she were already at *Paris*. The news was by this time come to the *Princesse* her chamber, where *la Courre* was together with the French Embassadour, and divers other French-men; the trouble which they were all in, to hear this, was no lesse then what appeared in *Conde* when he was in the Palace; since they saw the plot was discovered; the present advice was to deny it if need should be, and by complaining, to prevent complaints; wherewith *la Courre* and the Embassadour in ordinary went instantly from the Prince of *Orenge* his house, leaving the *Princesse* much perplex: to whom *Conde* being returned, and having laid aside his former fear, he together with *Orenge* and the Spanish officers seemed to lay all the blame upon the French, and that they had treacherously plotted to convey away the *Princesse* by violence: it cannot be said what concourse of people flockt presently to *Orenge* his house: and what confusion and noise there was that night in *Brussels*: the guard which the Archduke had granted unto *Conde*, came armed into *Orenge* his house: and 500 more armed Townsmen which *Orenge* had procured from the supream Magistrate of the City; so as the horror of so many arms increased by that of the night, together with the novelty of the businesse it self, brought almost all the rest of the people thither, and bred one of the greatest tumults that was ever known in *Brussels*: and 'twas given out by a popular voice, and believed, that the King of *France* was himself in person at the City gates to carry away the *Princesse* by force. But to return to *la Courre*, and the Embassadour in ordinary, as soon as they were gone from *Orenge* his house, and saw so great a tumult, they resolved to go immediately to the Archduke, and to complain mightily of him concerning what was divulged, of the above said plot. They said:

“That all was invented by the Prince of *Conde*, the more still to honest his flying from *France*, and for other ambitious ends of his own:
 “that it might easily be conceived the *Princesse* could not be conveyed
 “away to *France* in the air; so as to effect her carrying away many horse-
 “men, must of necessity have been laid by the way between *Brussels* and
 “the confines of *France*: she must necessarily be conveyed out of a
 “house, full of company: the wals of the City must either have been
 “scaled, or had holes made through them; and many other things must
 “have been provided for; and above all things impenetrable secrecie;
 “which preparations if they should have been made, how should not the
 “news thereof been brought to *Brussels*, as well of the people that must
 “have been sent from *France*, as of some of the so many provisions which
 “must have been made? how was it to be believed that the *Princesse*, a
 “Lady of tender years, so tenderly brought up, could travel two long days
 “journey from *Brussels*, to the nearest parts of *France*, so speedily as
 “she should not be overtaken? that by all these reasons it did clearly ap-
 “pear, that the busines was not only not ever plotted, but never dreamed
 “of, which was to be imagined totally infeasable: that fraud abhors
 “the

“the light; and that therefore this was compos’d by night, the better to
“mask it over with darknesse: that *Conde* was the Architect thereof, as-
“sisted by some Officer of *Flanders*, ill-minded towards *France*: and
“since by this calumnious invention, the *Princesse* was so much scandali-
“zed in her honour, and their Kings reputation so much at stake, they
“desired the Arch-duke that the truth might bee made to appear, to the
“end that proportionable resentment might be had. The Arch-dukes
“answer was.

“That he had thought such a plot to be very unlikely; but that on
“the other side *Conde* was very confident in his affirming it to bee true;
“that he had been so earnest in desiring to have a Guard in the Prince of
“*Orenge* his house, as he could not deny it him; that he was sorry to see
“businesses proceed to this height; that hee hoped the truth of the fact
“would at last be made manifest; and that it would not prove any cause
“of spot unto the *Princesse*, nor of offence unto the King.

The Arch-duke, with such a fained answer dispatch’d away the Em-
bassadors, who continuing their complaints, disperst them every where
abroad; especially against *Marquesse Spinola*, upon whose advise they
saw *Conde* did very much rely in all things. The common opinion was,
that the French had really an intention to carry away the *Princesse* in
manner aforesaid; and though the doing it would have proved very dif-
ficult, yet was it not held to bee impossible. Her chamber lay upon a
garden neer the street; the City wall might easily have been bored tho-
row, or else been scaled; and so they might have past over the ditch,
which was dry on that side, without any difficulty; so as the *Princesse*
being advanced 6. or 7. hours by night, on good and swift Horses, there
would have been but little hope of over-taking her: in which time one
Post being sent after another, such a number of Horse would have sud-
denly been sent forth from the neereft Frontiers of *France*, as might have
sufficed to withstand any Forces which might have come from *Brussels*
to stop the *Princesse*.

These were the reasons which made for the Spaniards side, to prove
that she might bee stolne away. But whatsoever the truth was in a busi-
nesse which amidst such contrary passions could hardly be found out.
The *Princesse* was brought the very next day into the Palace, attended
by a very great many. As joyfull as this day appeared to the Spaniards,
it seemed as sad to the French; who thought that the *Princesse* was
brought as a Prisoner, and as in Triumph; and the King of *France* his
passions taken and led captive after her. Many Posts were forthwith
dispatched away to the King, to give him notice of all these proceedings:
vvhhereat the King being strangely exasperated, thinking that no more
negotiations vvere novv to bee had in *Condees* affairs, but that it vvas
better to affright him vwith threats, he writ him a Letter of credence, to
beleeve what *la Courre* should say unto him. The which as soon as *la Courre*
had given him, he told him in succinct and resolute terms.

“That the King to shew his goodnesse to him, did again propound
“unto him his return to *France*, and the putting of himself freely into
“his hands; that hee assured him again of a plenary pardon for all that
“was past; if hee did not suddenly accept of this offer, the King did
“from that time forward declare him guilty of High-Treason; for that
“hee contrary to the lawes of *France* had dared to go out of the King-
“dom without the Kings permission, and had so many other wayes of-
“fended

“fended the King, contrary to the lawes of consanguinity.

Conde took time to answer, and his answer was:

“That he had left *France* to save his honour and his life; and that
 “necessity quitted him of any fault: that he was ready to return if any
 “offer should be made him whereby he might live there in safety; that he
 “would live and dye faithfull to the King. But that when the King should
 “stray from all the wayes of justice, and should proceed against him by
 “the wayes of Violence, he took all such acts as should be done against
 “his person to be Null, and Invalid.

All things being thus much imbittered; the Prince of *Conde* growing more jealous of his life, if hee should stay in *Brussels*, a place much frequented by *Forreyners*, and too neer *France*, resolved to quit *Flanders*. Hee had his choice of two wayes to go; either towards *Spain* by Sea, taking ship at *Dunkerke*, or towards *Italy*, by the way of *Germany*: both these were full of difficulties. In that of the sea, he must relie upon the windes, which might peradventure either throw his ship upon *Holland*, or *England*, or upon *France* it self: and it was no lesse dangerous to give upon *Holland* or *England*, by reason of the neer correspondency that was between *France* and them. And in his passage by land, hee ran many more dangers; being to passe thorow so many, and so different Countreys, in many whereof *Conde* could in no wayes be safe. All doubts being weighed, it was at last resolved that he should go by *Germany* into *Italy*, and should tarry at *Millan*, with Count *Fuentes*, who was Governour of that Town then, till some other course should be taken in *Spain* touching his affairs. He took his journey about the end of *February*: and all care was had for his departure with what secrecie might be; his journey succeeded so well, as in a few dayes he came to *Millan*, where he was honourably received by Count *Fuentes*. *Marquesse de la Cour* tarried not long after he was gone: *La Cour's* Embassie proving vain, and *Conde* being absolutely past into the Spaniards hands, every bodies eyes were upon what the King of *France* would do; no man doubted but that hee was mightily vexed, and might think,

“Was this the fruit of his past victories? that a young man, the next
 “of kin unto him, who ought to be at his beck, should in this manner, and
 “upon these pretences, forgo *France*, and put himself into the Spaniards
 “protection? become the means of disturbing his present quiet, and
 “the peace which he desired to leave his children to enjoy? What accident could be a greater blemish to his honour, and more lessen his Authority then this? Against which why should he not now think that others in *France* might do the like, and that his enemies abroad might rise against him? that Kingdoms were preserved by reputation; which was as well their strongest support in peace, as their chiefest safety in time of war. When once they grow despised, they are either subject to forraine Invasions, or home Troubles; and many times to both at once. ’Twas therefore now no longer time to loyter; and since *Conde* would not be intreated to return to *France*, he must now be forced to do it; and bee made repent his having committed so great faults, and the Spaniards their having assisted him therein.

These passions seemed to bee plainly read in the Kings countenance; and no lesse visible was his desire of having the Princess back again at *Paris*. So as so great and potent an agitation of minde being considered, many thought hee would make war upon *Flanders*, and have the United

Provinces joyned with him; and that the Archduke and Spaniards, would through fear be forc'd at last to restore *Conde* & the Princess unto him, which they had denied to do by a friendly way. But on the other side the graver and wiser sort of men could not be thus perswaded: They judg'd that the King of *France*, being now 58 years old would first very well weigh the dangers, which might insue by his making a War at those years; and having so young children, the eldest of which was not past nine years old.

“How sad times (said they) will those prove, wherein he himself failing, shall leave his heir in so tender years, to inherit a War? under the government of a woman? all things being doubtful abroad and wavering at home? had not he been so forward in endeavouring the Truce of *Flanders*, that he might see his neighbours at peace when he should die? what piece of folly and of blindness would it then be, to make the War now his own, which he had strove to quench amongst others? ’twas not to be esteemed an easie matter to set upon, and to indanger the Provinces of *Flanders*; Provinces provided of a veteran Army; fortified on the Frontiers by strong Towns, and by Rivers: inhabited by a war-like people, and naturally enemies to the very name of *France*: that it was not so likely neither, as some would perswade themselves, that the United Provinces would joyn in the same designs with the King, since the same ends which made them desire the Truce, would make them likewise desire the continuance of it: that the violentest passions were commonly soonest over: ’twas therefore to be believed, that when the King should be free of these his so ardent desires, he would give ear to more circumspect advice, and endeavour rather to work an accommodation in *Conde*’s affairs by way of good correspondencie with the *Spaniards*. It would indeed be a gallant and a memorable action, if the King violently gone in love now in his old age, should set all *France* on fire, and put all *Europe* in commotion for a woman.

Thus did men discourse of the King of *France*, when *Conde* was gone from *Flanders*: and doubtlesly it was the common opinion that these later reasons would have outweighed the former; but men find themselves oft times deceived even when they think themselves wisest. When God hath once decreed in his secret wisdom, that some great alteration shall happen amongst us here below for our punishment, he first of all bereaves Princes of counsel; and suffering them to fall from the love of the vveal publique, or common good, into the like of their own blind private wils, he makes themselves the instruments as well of their own peculiar ruine, as of the general misfortune of other men. Thus the more ardent resolutions prevailing over the wisest in the King of *France*, he resolved to raise a new Armie, and took for his pretence, that he would assist the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Pallatine of *Newburg* in their possession of the states of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. The Emperour *Rodolphus*, as I touched upon at the beginning, had sent the Archduke *Leopold* the year before to *Juliers*; to the end that he might take those states into sequestration in the Emperours name, which as depending upon the Empire, the Emperour judg'd that of right they should be deposited in his hands, till the cause was juridically decided. *Leopold* staid therefore in *Juliers*; a good Town and strengthened by a good Castle; and for that he feared to be driven out from thence by the aforesaid two

Princes, who were openly favoured by the United Provinces, he had raised some number of Souldiers from the time that he first entred into the Town. He being a Prince of the house of *Austria*, a gallant young man, having begun to raise men, and his possibilitie of being favoured by the forces of *Flanders*, vvere reasons which raised jealousies not only in *Brandenburg* and in *Newburg*, but even in the United Provinces, and in the King of *France*, that his comming thither vvas not without the knowledge and counsel of the Spaniards: They seemed to apprehend lest the Spaniards under the Emperours name, might cover some of their own designs vvhich might prove either to put *Leopold* in possession of the states of the late Duke of *Cleves*, or under some pretence to enter thereinto themselves: Whereupon the King and the United Provinces had resolved the next spring to assist *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*, and to drive *Leopold* not only out of *Juliers*, but out of all those parts. The affairs of *Juliers* were at this passe vvhien the Prince of *Conde* went from *Flanders* to *Italy*: The King of *France* thought better therefore to make use of this pretence to raise an Army, then by openly intimating War to the King of *Spain* and the Archduke, afford them opportunitie to provide by time, and the easilier to resist his forces, which at that time were very great; his large Kingdom was then in full peace, and therefore abounded wonderfully in all things; and the glory he had won in War, had got him so great a power in peace, as tis not known that ever any King had more. The Nobilitie, Parliaments, and all the other Orders strove who should be most at his beck; and that which was most to be wondred at vvas, that it vvas not vvell known vvhither he were more beloved or feared by his subjects: and the French being by nature quick, and the Gentry generally given to Arms, it might be believed, that the King would find as much readinesse in them to take up Arms as he could desire: he made no delay; he sent forth with many Commissions into divers Countries to raise men, to provide Ammunition, victuals and what else was necessary to make up a potent Army. *France* was in a short time full of armed men, and all things were ready for motion: to boot with the souldiery which vvere raised in *France*, the King gave order for raising a good number of *Swissers*: And out of his Treasury, (which was thought to contain above five Millions of gold, and was not as yet touched) great quantitie of money was drawn to make the speedier provisions. But the Archduke and *Spinola* held that the King of *France* had some other end in these his preparations: they thought that by these threats the King would the more inforce his practises, which he still continued in *Brussels* of re-having the Princessse; and that losing all hope at last of regaining her, he would reduce so great a preparation, to so many men only as should be needful to send to the succour of *Brandenburg* and *Newburg*; in prosecution of the aforesaid practise, Monsieur *de Preau* was newly come from *France* in the name of the Constable, and Madam *d'Angulesme*: but he brought with him likewise Letters from the King to the Archduke of such eager contents, as he was rather taken to be sent from the King himself then from the Constable and Madam *d'Angulesme*: These were his desires to the Archduke; That the Queen of *France* her Coronation being shortly to be solemnized, the Constable and Madam *d'Angulesme* desired that the Princessse might be at it to serve the Queen upon this so solemn occasion her self in person; that they did both of them likewise desire to have the Princessse with them to assist her in indeavouring a divorce between her

her and her husband, who had carried her out of *France* against her will; offended her highly at *Brussels*; placed her by force with the Infanta; and deprived her of that libertie which by all laws was allowed to every private woman, in case of divorce, much more to so eminent a Princess. These were the principal reasons alledged by *Preau*, to perswade the Archduke and the Infanta to permit the Princess to return to *France*. Answer was made, that the Princess came into their Palace of her own accord; that the Prince her husband had placed her there, and *la Courre* himself had agreed thereunto: That though she were with them, the divorce and all things conducing thereunto might be treated of; and finally that they had engaged their word unto her husband not to deliver her up into any ones hands but his own; so as it did not consist with their honour to falsifie their promise. *Preau* replied, that the Archduke and Infanta could not do it, because it was against all Laws of justice: that the rule of all Laws and Tribunals was, that the wife who was evilly intreated by her husband, should have free liberty to be parted from him, and to go whither she pleased to sue out her Divorce: that he did believe the Princess should not want this libertie though she tarried with the Infanta; but that she herself did desire rather to be with her Father and Aunt, and in her own friends hands, that so she might the better govern her affairs; that this could not be denied her; and lastly, that the King of *France* would never indure, as long as he had any Forces to command, that she should receive so open an outrage. The Archduke excused himself chiefly upon his tie of Honour, and desired that some way of accommodation might be thought on; that if any way could be found out whereby with safetie to his and his wives honor, the Princess might return to *France*, he would willingly accept of it; but the French would admit of nothing, but that the Princess should be freely restored to her Father and her Aunt; and prest the Archduke the more hereunto, for that they found him wavering: The Archduke was at last contented, to make it be propounded to the French, that when it should be declared by any competent way that the Princess should be wholly left to her own liberty, he and the Infanta would be contented to let her go whither she pleased; by these words, [competent way] the Archduke seemed to understand the Pope: who should determin this point either by himself at *Rome*, or by either of his Nuntios in *France*, or in *Flanders*: which would suddenly be decided one way or other; since this was not to enter upon the merits of the cause of Divorce, but only to resolve where the Princess should in the mean while be: yet would not the French admit of this neither; they doubted the length of time; and they considered the Archduke as one in a manner not at his own command, the Spaniards having too great an interest in all his affairs and counsels; and particularly the Marquesse *Spinola*, whom they did very much distrust.

But it was now time for the Archduke and Spinola to thinke of somewhat else then treaty by words; The Swissers began already to fall down into *France*; and all provisions formerly spoken of with all diligence prepared. The flour of the Nobilitie of *France* could not be more forward to take up Arms and follow the Kings person; who though he sometimes varied in publishing the form of his going, was still resolute to go. He told the Embassadors of *Spain* and *Flanders*, that he would go himself in person to assist his friends, and to put them into their due possession of the states of *Cleves* and *Juliers*: upon other occasions,

occasions, he would let himself be freely understood, that he would go himself to free the Princess out of Prison: and to revenge the wrong which the King of *Spain* and Archduke had done him in taking the Prince of *Conde* into their protection. The Archduke was advertised of all this, by his own Embassadour resident at *Paris*, and by the King of *Spain's* Embassadour. He therefore thought it no longer time to delay making such provisions as was thought necessary to oppose the King of *France*, if he should really resolve to turn his Forces upon *Flanders*. His Army was at this time very much diminished; for presently after the Truce all the Dutch were cashier'd, many of the Walloons, and a great part of the Horse: which was done to lessen the expence, which had been so excessive in so long a War: so as the King of *Spain* and the Archduke had not then above 10000 Foot and 1500 Horse; all of them notwithstanding old and expert souldiers: The scarcity of money was likewise very great; so as the Archduke and Spaniards were in a great streight, being of necessity to raise 12000 Foot, and 2000 Horse; and having no money to do it. The Archdukes first resolution was to send Don *Fernando Girene* into *Spain*, one of the chief Spanish Commanders in all the Armie, to perswade the King to send 400000 Crowns immediately into *Flanders*, whereby to raise the aforesaid Forces, and for other Provisions which were to be made, against the King of *France* his preparations; and in the mean while, with such moneys as could be come by, they began to raise men. 'Twas resolved that there should 6000 Dutch be raised, 6000 Walloons, and for the present only 600 Harquebuziers on Horseback, which sort of Horse they wanted, all their other Horse being either Launcers or Curaziers; the Archdukes intention was to make use of all the old souldiers in the field, and to set the new men to guard the Frontiers; which because they required good Garrisons both towards *France*, and towards the United Provinces; 'twas thought that the Spanish field Army could not exceed 12 or 14 thousand Foot, and 2500 Horse; as for the King of *France* his Army, 'twas esteemed to be, 30000 Foot, part *Swissers* and part French, and 5000 Horse: The Royal Cornet being therein comprehended, which in *France* is called the White Cornet, which the flowre of the French Nobilitie use to bring up behind when the King himself is in person in the Field: affairs were hastened every day more and more on the Kings side, and great store of Victuals, Ammunition for War and Artillerie began to be sent to those Frontiers of *Campagne* and *Piccardy* which lay towards *Flanders*: and the Town of *Schallone* was designed for the Rendezvous of the French Armie. This was the state of affairs in the end of *April*, 1610. at which time the same King, to boot vvith the preparation of his own Forces, held strait Intelligence with the King of *England*, and the United Provinces, to make them likewise move against *Flanders*. Hee was of great Authority with the United Provinces, and maintained at his own cost 4000. French Foot, and 200. Horse in their Armie; so as hee thought to draw them easily over to side with his designs; and to induce the King of *England* thereunto also out of hopes of gaining something thereby himself. And not content with these managements of affairs against *Flanders*, he stirred up others in *Italy* by the Duke of *Savoy* (who was then greatly alienated from the Spaniards) and the Common-wealth of *Venice*, to make some commotion on that side also against the State of *Millan*. But his ends in *Italy* ended not here. Hee thought that the very occasion of so many

many Forces on foot at once against the King of *Spain*, might invite the Pope to think upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; and to incite also all others on all sides. who were jealous of so great a power, to endeavour to bring it lower. Neither did he despair of carrying his victorious Forces in this conjuncture, into *Germany*, and to finde his name in so great renowne there also, and such the correspondency of his Friends, as that hee might take the Empire from the House of *Austria*. So was he set on at the same time by hatred against the Prince, and love to the Princess; but especially by the fiercest of Enemies, the too great Felicity which hee found himself to be in. But his chiefe designe at this time was upon *Flanders*; and the whole body of his Forces met upon the Frontiers: So as the Archduke and the Spaniards began very much to fear the Affairs of *Flanders*; doubting lest by so many and so hotly pursued practises against the Crown of *Spain*, the Forces of that Monarchy might bee diverted elsewhere, so as not to bee able well to supply the particular needs of *Flanders*. To which it was also to be added, that *Spain* was at this time in great commotion, by reason of the expulsion of the Moors out of all the King of *Spains* Kingdoms. The Archduke and the Spaniards did notwithstanding hope, that the United Provinces (whose Forces were very considerable) would not be brought, without any necessity of their own, to break the Truce, but they would onely assist the King with some of their men, which would notwithstanding be a reinforcement of great Importance, by reason of the condition of their Souldiery, which was very choice, and long Verst in Arms. As for the King of *England*, they thought they needed not fear him at all, nor that hee was to adhere unto the King of *France* his designs: as well by reason of his naturall addiotion to peace and quiet, as for the scarcity of money which he was in, and that he would be jealous of the King of *France* his growing any greater. For the other practises in *Italy*, and in *Germany*, the Archduke and the Spaniards did not much regard it. So as all the danger being reduced into *Flanders*, and it being cleerly seen that the tempest of the French Forces was to fall there, the Archduke and the Spaniards made what provision they could to withstand them. At this time, Answers came very hot from *Spain*, which promised the desired moneys should be suddenly sent, and all things else that was needfull, not onely to withstand the King of *France*, but even to carry the warre home into his own Kingdom: Whereupon the Archduke being encouraged, hastened the raising of new men, and resolved to take into the *Flanders* Army a thousand of Archduke *Leopolds* Horse, and 1500. of his Foot: which *Leopold* for want of money could not maintain. He had appointed at the same time *Filippeville*, a Town in the County *Namure*, towards the Frontiers of *Champaigne* for his place of Muster; and resolved to go himself into the Field, if the King of *France* should do so. The 17. day of *May* was already appointed for the Archduke to be in the Town of *Namures*, neer *Filippeville*, at which time the Army should be brought to the place of Muster, or Rendezvous.

Monfieur *de Preau* forbare not all this while to continue his Negotiations at *Brussels*; at which time the Princes seemed to live much discontented, and openly called the Archdukes Palace her Prison. And she herself in writing declared unto them, that shee ought by the way of right and justice be set at liberty. Shee would be some who'e dayes, and not suffer her self to be seen by any one; and endeavoured by all possible demonstrations

monstrations to shew how highly she was displeased to bee detained in that manner in *Brussels*. But the King of *France* appearing more resolute then ever in his designe of warre; and declaring however, that hee would in his own Person succour *Brandenburg*, and *Newburg*, he had some new discourse with the Embassadour of *Flanders* at *Paris*, and moved him that he might have leave to passe thorow *Luxenburg*: With which motion the Embassadour suddenly acquainted the Archduke. The Kings pretence was not unknown; and 'twas thought that the two Princes themselves would be very jealous, to see so many French in Arms, and the King himself in Person, in their Countrey; lest that by such a succour, they might become a prey to the succourer. So as the Archduke esteeming that this was rather a first intimation of War, and that whether the King should be permitted, or denied to passe, would be a point of great importance: Hee thought much upon it; whereupon severall consultations were had between him and his chief Commanders, as well concerning this point, as how the Warre against the King should bee govern'd. There were at this time two men chiefly esteemed in the *Flanders* Army. The one a Spaniard, Don *Luis di Valasco*, Generall of the Horse; and the other a Dutch man, Count *Buckquoi*, Generall of the Artillery: both which had formerly past with much commendation through all the inferiour Charges of the Militia. As they were one day in Councel what to resolve in things of so high concernment, *Valasco* desirous that his opinion should bee clearly known, and that particular notice might be taken thereof in *Spain*, spoke thus;

“ When I consider, (most powerfull Prince) our affairs in *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, compared with those of the King of *France*, I finde ours so short
 “ of his, as it is now more time then ever, to bee cautious and secure in
 “ our Councels. Wee all agree in one supposition, that your Highnesse
 “ cannot have above 12 or 14 thousand Foot, and 2500. Horse; an
 “ Army which though it consist almost all of old Souldiers, yet in my
 “ opinion it ought not to bee thought sufficient to Face the King of
 “ *France* his Army, which will have twice our numbers in it. No doubt
 “ his Foot will not compare with ours; but so great an advantage in
 “ number is too considerable. And then if the French Horse be usually
 “ better then those of all other Nations, how much better will they
 “ prove now then our Cavallery? since to boot with their odds of num-
 “ ber, theirs will be made up of the prime Nobility of *France*, who in
 “ this present occasion will wait upon the Kings Person. And how much
 “ will the Kings new men bee encouraged and strengthened by the old
 “ Souldiers of the United Provinces, who certainly will assist his For-
 “ ces against ours, either by a Bravado, or in breaking the Truce with
 “ us, in this so opportune conjuncture. It is therefore my opinion that
 “ by all means that may bee wee should shun incountring the King of
 “ *France*, and all occasions of giving him Battell: and consequently my
 “ Vote shall go, that he be permitted to passe thorow *Luxenburg*, since
 “ our affairs stand so now as wee cannot hinder him. And as for the
 “ form of warring, since in my judgement we are to keep our selves up-
 “ on the Defence, my counsell shall be, that our Army may move from
 “ *Filippeville*, our place of Muster, towards that part as the King of
 “ *France* his Army shall move, and that wee may alwayes coast him on
 “ this side the Mause. Thus making use of the River, as of a large and
 “ deep Ditch; and of her Banks as of a firm and invincible Rampiere,

"it shall not be in the Kings power to assault us : and on the other side, it will
 "be in our power to keep him from entring into the best and chiefeſt parts
 "of theſe Provinces. And if the King ſhall this mean while make himſelf
 "Maſter of the Field on that ſide the River, he will finde but few places on
 "that ſide to make himſelf Maſter of, and he ſhall find thoſe few ſo united,
 "as in taking them hee ſhall loſe much time, and many ſouldiers, which will
 "ſuffice to breake the firſt violence of his Army. Thus putting our ſelves in
 "this ſtrong and ſecure poſture of Defence, we ſhall fight without fighting,
 "and we ſhall without danger, overcome this firſt dangerous motion of the
 "King of *France* his Forces. The mean while powerfull Aids will come to
 "us from *Spain* both of men and money . and this mean-while alſo the
 "French Forces which ſhall be turned againſt theſe Provinces may be weak-
 "ned by many diverſions, whiſt wee may make ours deſcend from the Pi-
 "renean mountains againſt *France*, and prejudice him by our Fleets in the
 "Mediterranean Sea, and in the Ocean ; and may cauſe ſome inward Com-
 "motion in that Kingdom. The French (as all men know) are born to
 "Novelties ; and ſeek out troubles no leſſe then others ſhun them, which
 "they are ready to throw amongſt Forreiners, but more amongſt them-
 "ſelves. To this purpoſe, if eaſie matter might have been formerly ho-
 "ped for out of their naturall unquietneſſe, how much eaſilier will it bee
 "found now that the Prince of *Conde* is gone from them, and is in our
 "hands ? How great commotion of tumults will the ſudden ſetting up of
 "this great enſigne there cauſe ? nor can they bee more juſtly excited. Let
 "them make triall of fire at their own homes, who will kindle it in other
 "folks houſes. And all the evil that over-hang the aſſailed, let it fall on the
 "heads of the aſſayers. Lo, thus we are happily paſt from the Defence to
 "the Offence, ſo to make the King of *France* repent his raſh undertaking of
 "ſo unjuſt a War. And unleſſe he be more blinde in matter of Government,
 "then what he appears to be in his *amours*, we will make him aware of the
 "difference of overcoming weak Women, and working them to his deſires,
 "and of taking up Arms againſt ſuch Forces as are thoſe of my King, and
 "Yours, which together do make ſo Formidable a Power. The King of
 "*France* might remember your Highneſſe Victories, when clad in Purple,
 "and ſtill a Cardinall, you made ſuch important progreſſe againſt him in
 "his own Kingdom. I hope they vwill be no leſſe that you ſhall make upon
 "this preſent occaſion, after you ſhall have ſuſtained the firſt brunts, at vvhich
 "the French are onely good. They vwill eaſily be vvithſtood, in my opini-
 "on, in the manner I have ſaid ; and all things turning afterwards to our ad-
 "vantage, nevv glory ſhall be added to your Highneſſe, nevv reputation to
 "the affairs of *Spain*, more ſafety to thoſe of *Flanders*, and infinite honour
 "and ſatiſfaction to us Souldiers, by ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, as ſhall ariſe
 "from this War.

Buckquoy ſpoke thus to the contrary : "If thoſe remedies (moſt illuſtri-
 "ous Prince) which in theſe preſent neceſſities of *Flanders* ought to be ex-
 "pected from *Spain*, were as eaſily to be effected as 'tis eaſie to diſcourſe of
 "them, I ſhould like wiſe be of the ſame opinion of ſtanding now upon the
 "defenſive part with the King of *France*: but I cannot believe, that ſuch aydes
 "as we at preſent ſtand in need of here, can come from *Spain* either in ſo
 "ſhort a time, or in ſo great a meaſure as hath been ſuppoſed : So many
 "years experience may have taught us, that by reaſon of the great diſtance
 "of ſpace, Counſel, and then ſuccours much more, do moſt commonly come
 "from thence hither when tis too late ; and that by reaſon likewiſe of the

“so immense bulk of that so divided Monarchie, the provisions destin’d for
 “*Flanders* are alwayes very weak when they do come, being diverted by the
 “so many members whereof the body is compos’d: we may then fear that
 “upon this immergent occasion, provisions from those parts may meet with
 “the wonted obstructions; nay, with more then usual. The Indian Fleet
 “is not yet expected these many moneths: whole *Spain*, is now in commo-
 “tion by reason of the expulsion of the Moors; and the taking up of Arms
 “which the Duke of *Savoy* threatens in *Malta*, is likewise a businesse of great
 “consideration: so as these are all immediate diversions, and which undoub-
 “tedly make for the King of *France* his advantage; whereas those which
 “have been thought upon for the affairs of *Flanders* are all of them doubtful,
 “and depend upon future successe: Wherefore I am of opinion, that it will
 “be hard to hope for such supplies from *Spain*, as will suffice to maintain the
 “new Forces which are by us now added to the old: It must therefore be
 “granted, that if your Highnes shall suffer the King of *France* his Armie to joyn
 “with the Veteran Souldiery of the United Provinces, the King must of a
 “suddain become so potent, as that he will be absolute master of the Field,
 “not only on that side, but even on this side the Mause. For why may not
 “he passe over the River either at the Bridge of the Town of *Hue*, in the
 “Neutral Countrey of *Leige*, or in some other part, without being hindred
 “by us? may he not then get in hither, go whither he pleaseth, and do what he
 “will? And though the United Provinces were not before inclined to break
 “into open War against these Countries, is it not to be feared, that invited
 “by so fair an occasion, they may do it now? will not our affairs be then
 “brought to the last point of despair? tis a known saying, That in extream
 “evils, we are to have recourse to extream remedies; the sword heals those
 “wounds which lenitives cannot do; and to despise dangers, proves some-
 “times the best way to escape them. I am then of opinion, that the present
 “condition of the affairs of *Flanders* being considered, it is necessary to put
 “on hazardous and bold resolutions, since without manifest losse of all these
 “Provinces, circumspect and cautious counsels cannot be admitted of. I think
 “you ought resolutely to deny the King of *France*, his passage through *Lux-
 enburg*; that as he moves his Armie towards your Frontiers you shall move
 “yours towards his, and go to meet him, and hinder him from meeting with
 “the Veteran Souldiers of the United Provinces. I must confesse this reso-
 “lution hath likewise its dangers; but the others me thinks are greater and
 “more apparent: The hazards of this, depend upon the event, which in Bat-
 “tels is alwayes doubtful: nor can it be denied, but that the King of *France* is
 “a gallant Commander, and that he will have with him all the flowre of his
 “Nobilitie on Horseback; yet if on the otherside we shall consider our men,
 “bred up amongst Arms; so long and so well disciplined; accustomed eve-
 “ry day to action and Battels: and who shall have your self in the head for
 “their Commander; why should we not hope that our Army should have
 “the better of the King of *France* his Army? my hopes are not a whit the
 “lesse for their being more in number: ’tis not numbers, but worth; not
 “confusion, but order: not the first onset, but the constant fighting, which
 “gets the victory: our squadrons of Foot will be satiated with blood in kil-
 “ling the Swissers, who will be they alone who will make any resistance:
 “they will easily put to flight the French Foot, and will so enhearten our
 “Horse as we may also hope to be victors on that side; so you shall see (as I
 “hope) the War begun and ended at the same time: and so you shall see a
 “new place made famous in these Countries, which peradventure may not
 “give

“give place to that of St. *Quintaine*, *Gravelin*, and *Dorlan*, all of them famous for the defeats which they in former times have given to the French, thereby winning so much honour to our *Flanders* Armies. And it may so fall out, that the King of *France*, when he shall see our men march so resolutely against his; may alter his mind from assailing these states, and may be brought more patiently to endure those fiery onsets which he is cause of unto himself by his so ill governed inward passions. Thus without any danger you shall have ended a War, before it be well begun; and may afterwards put on such resolves as may be most convenient for your own affairs, for the affairs of *Spain*, for the publique service of Christendome, and for the particular good of your people.

The reasons alledged by each of these great Commanders were certainly of very great weight: on the one side, if the King of *France* should be suffered to joyn with the Ancient Souldierie of the United Provinces, the affairs of *Flanders* would be in very great danger: and on the other side, to adventure that Armie suddenly in a Battel, wherein the only hopes of supporting them laie, was likewise a dangerous resolution. *Marquesse Spinola* seemed to lean to the second proposition; were it either that *Buckquois* reasons prevailed more with him; or that, that counsel, which was the bolder appeared to him the most necessarie: he appear'd very desirous to be seen in so glorious a Theater, as that would be, where a Battle should be given to so great a Prince, and so famous a Commander as was the King of *France*: to boot that he had received many distastes from the French, in their practises concerning the Princes of *Conde*; which peradventure moved a greater desire in him to fight them. The Pope at this time laboured very much by Fatherly admonitions, and earnest intreaties to induce the Princes interess'd in this so great commotion, to preserve their former friendship: and to this purpose he had particularly destined two Nuntios in extraordinary; the one the Arch-Bishop of *Nazaret* to be sent to the Court of *France*, and the other the Arch-Bishop of *Chieri* to be sent to the Court of *Spain*.

When amidst so great perturbations, and ambiguitie of affairs, certain news came to *Brussels* that the King of *France* was slain; the manner thus: Whilst on the 14 of *May* he was in his Coach in the streets of *Paris*, viewing the Triumphant Arches which were prepared for the stately Coronation of his Queen; he was murdered by the hand of a base mean Catiff, who making himself master of the Kings life, by resolving desperately to lose his own, gave him two deadly wounds in the flank with a long Knife. A miserable death indeed; so great a King falling by so base hands, and in the nick of time when his greatness was grown to that height, as *France* seemed not great enough to prescribe bounds thereunto: Which may serve for an instruction to Princes, and amongst them, the most powerful, to let them know, that miseries are mixt with their felicitie, and that on the Theater of Humane Tragedies, they often make the most fatal and saddest Scenes.

The King of *France* being dead, the Prince of *Conde* returned Post into *Flanders*: and on a sudden the face of affairs was altered. The French-mens heat was allaid; the Spaniards were very desirous to make use of this so propitious occasion, and to march on with their Armie: But at last peaceable counsels prevailed; and very good intelligence and correspondencie was held between them, the Archduke, and the Queen Regent, Mother to the young King. The Prince of *Conde* was still troubled with many cogitations: he pretended, as first Prince of the Bloud, the chief government of the Kingdom did of right appertain to him, during the Kings minoritie: and pretended also that

that after his Father in laws death, the office of Lord high Constable of *France* did belong to him: But it would have caused great jealousies to have put him into that office, and much more to have put the Kingdom into his hands; so as he at last ceased from both these pretences, and satisfied himself with other hopes, to have full contentment given him in other things at his return to *France*. The Archdukes were then in *Merimont*, and with them the Princess of *Conde*; who altering likewise with the alteration of affairs seemed already desirous to be reconciled to her Husband, and willing to return with him into *France*: *Conde* went quickly to *Merimont* to do his respects to the Archdukes, by whom he was received with like civilities as formerly; and he on his side acknowledged his great obligations to them for their having so greatly favoured his affairs. He did the like to the Spanish State ministers; and these his first complements being over, he returned to *Brussels*, where he staid awhile with the Prince of *Orenge*; and then returned to *Merimont*, to go for *France*: He did not as yet see his Wife; but their reconciliation was soon after made in *France*: and she very well deserved his love, by her bearing of Children to him, and no less by her worth. The Constable her Father sent the Countesse of *Overgne* (a daughter of his also, but by another Venter) to *Merimont* to bring the Princess from *Flanders*, and to thank the Archdukes for their having kept her with them. The Queen sent also Monsieur de la Barre to the same place to visit the Prince, and to invite him to come to *Paris*; and every day great many of the chief men of *France* came to see him, and offer him their service. Three dayes after *Conde* went away, and was met by his own Mother upon the Frontiers of *France*; and being every where incountred and imbraced by divers of the Nobilitie, he at last, being followed by an infinite concourse of people, entred *Paris*.

In which revolution of several affairs, fortune shewing how she is pleased to sport her self daily with new spectacles of humane varieties; it may suffer a dispute, whether the manner of the Prince his departure from *France* was more unfortunate, or the like of his return fortunate: He departed a Fugitive, in manifest danger of being taken, and living long in misery, and in the horror of Imprisonment: He returned not long after as in Triumph, with such prerogatives of Honour and of Authoritie, as he might seem rather to be King then First Prince of the Bloud Royal.

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